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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 6, JUNE 1986

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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No 6, JUNE 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## REVAMPING THE MANAGEMENT OF BASIC ECONOMIC UNITS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 1-6, 53

[Editorial]

[Text] During the past several years, in keeping with the positions and policies of the party and state on revamping our economic management, we have achieved initial results in removing the constraints imposed by the economic management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, thereby gradually tapping the initiative and creativity of all levels and sectors, particularly basic economic units. Many models of rather highly efficient production and business have emerged in agriculture, the handicraft trades, industry and the services, models that are providing us with valuable experience, having a strong impact from the standpoint of changing the economic thinking of cadres and helping to raise the economic leadership and management standards of the various levels and sectors.

However, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has, for all intents and purposes, not been dismantled and the management mechanism of socialist business has yet to be established. The recently promulgated management policies are a patchwork and lack coordination. The regulations on economic management are still largely in the nature of administrative orders and do nothing to stimulate or encourage units to boldly shift to socialist business practices. On the other hand, a lack of organization, a lack of discipline, the theft of public property, waste...have developed at many places, causing adverse economic and social consequences. In the way management is organized, there is a lack of democracy as well as lax discipline and lax compliance with the law.

All these factors have thwarted our efforts to uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and increase the authority and responsibility of basic economic units in production and business. On the other hand, they prevent us from maintaining centralized and unified management by the state.

Therefore, at its recent meeting, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee decided that determined steps must be taken to dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and institute economic accounting and socialist business practices while fully guaranteeing the autonomy of basic economic units in their production and

business under the unified management of the state and revamping the overall management mechanism. These two efforts are closely interrelated and have an impact upon each other. Revamping the overall management mechanism will create very favorable conditions for increasing the production and business autonomy of basic units; conversely, guaranteeing the autonomy of basic units in production and business will play a major role in revamping the overall management mechanism and cause the new management mechanism to quickly come into existence and be steadily improved. The importance of basic economic units must be clearly understood: they are the foundation of the socio-economic organization, are the places that produce all material wealth, the places where the laboring people carry out the three revolutions under the leadership of the party and the management of the state, the places that tightly tie each line of management together, lines which, if kept open, will provide an even better base for thoroughly revamping the whole of the country's economic management.

This time, the efforts made to revamp our management must have the aims of correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism, strongly building upon the motivating force that is the ownership exercised by the laboring people and increasing the authority and responsibility of basic units and all levels and sectors in order to accelerate the three revolutions and develop production and business with increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency. On this basis, we must stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the laboring people; create and increase the sources of capital for socialist industrialization; strengthen and perfect socialist production relations; thwart each scheme and method of sabotage of the enemy; wage an effective struggle against negative phenomena, protect socialist property well; and strengthen our national defense and security.

In view of the fact that we are working under the conditions of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, namely, the underdeveloped state of commodity production, an economy that still consists of many different segments and is seriously imbalanced in many respects, a socio-economic situation that is not stable and so forth, the efforts we make to revamp our management this time must be consistent with the realities of our country. This demands that we know how to creatively apply the fundamental principles of the socialist economic management system.

To begin with, we must correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism in economic management. It must be thoroughly understood that fully guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units is extremely important; however, this is absolutely not a departure from and must help to strengthen the centralized, unified management provided by the central state. To do otherwise is to violate the principle of democratic centralism, a fundamental principle of socialist economic management, and harm our people's cause of socialism.

The production and business operations of enterprises must be centered around the plan and apply the special laws of socialism while making proper use of the law of value and the relationship between goods and money in order to

closely tie production to circulation. It is necessary to combat conservatism, inertia and bureaucracy as well as liberalism and the lack of organization and discipline.

We must implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. Authority and interests must be tied to responsibilities and obligations. The three interests must be combined, combined in a way that guarantees the interests of all society and gives appropriate attention to the interests of basic units and the individual laborer. In management, the three different types of measures must be closely coordinated, with economic measures playing the basic role. Management by sector must be combined with management by locality and territory.

In planned production and business, state-operated enterprises must be fully responsible for their profits or losses and must endeavor to reduce costs in order to operate a profitable business.

To do a good job of revamping our management this time, it is necessary to grasp and successfully put into practice the following matters of fundamental importance concerning the management mechanism and basic economic units.

#### 1. Planning.

On the basis of the instructions received from the management agency directly above it and on the basis of its ability to provide for its own supplies from the various sources and market products through ordering units and economic contracts, the enterprise must independently formulate its plan and present this plan to the management agency directly above it for evaluation and approval. Of course, this must be a unified production-technical-financial-social plan, one that reflects each production, business and social activity of the enterprise and does not distinguish among the enterprise's different supply sources, including products that lie outside the sources originally planned. To enable them to take the initiative in formulating their plans, enterprises will receive, at an early date, notification from the management agency on the level directly above them of plan control figures, figures on the supplies and services they will be receiving and the names of the supply and service organizations assigned to them so that they can sign contracts. They will also receive notification of economic-technical quotas and standards and incentive policies of the state, receive related domestic and world economic-technical information, etc.

Depending upon the specific situation, the management agency on the level directly above the enterprise will assign to each enterprise from one to three legally binding norms. In addition, necessary directed norms can also be assigned.

From now on, each enterprise will only be under the management of one management agency on the level directly above it. The enterprise must defend its plan before and receive its plan from the head of this agency and accept this person's decision concerning the percentage of its plan actually completed.

Enterprises must also truly strengthen and improve their economic accounting.

## 2. Supply and product marketing, including exports and imports.

Of basic importance here is the need to make the transition from the allotting of supplies to the procurement and sale of materials among enterprises and the supplying of materials through economic contracts. Therefore, the system of supply organizations must be reorganized and the operations of these organizations must be converted to socialist business operations.

Generally speaking, basic production and business units must receive their supplies from the most convenient center and by the shortest possible route.

To acquire additional supplies and meet their needs, enterprises have the authority to establish ties and joint businesses with other economic units and procure, either directly or through economic contracts with basic production units and basic commerce units, raw materials produced by the collective economy, the private economy and the household economy.

As regards product marketing, with the exception of fresh products and products not on the list of products that are exclusively managed by the state, enterprises must market their products in accordance with the plan and with economic contracts and may not use the goods they produce or do business in, including the products of subsidiary production, to sell at low prices or give as bonuses to manual workers, civil servants or cadres.

Enterprises have the authority to open additional sources of supplies and markets for their products through export-import contracts that comply with the policies and laws of the state. The federations of enterprises and large enterprises which meet all the necessary criteria will be permitted by the state to export and import products directly and to trade and establish economic ties with foreign countries.

Each export-import organization must, from the standpoint of foreign trade and foreign currency, be under the exclusive management of the state.

## 3. The financial autonomy of the enterprise.

In addition to a portion of the capital initially supplied by the state and capital in the form of capital depreciation and profits remaining at the enterprise, the enterprise may acquire additional capital on its own, primarily by making every effort to develop production, raise productivity and reduce production costs in order to increase the amount of profits to which the enterprise is entitled.

The enterprise may borrow money from the bank. If the bank does not meet its needs, it may temporarily mobilize capital among its manual workers and civil servants at an appropriate interest rate directed by the bank.

The enterprise may use the capital it acquires on its own and borrowed capital, including capital in the form of foreign currency, and make flexible use of the various types of enterprise funds (the monies taken from these

funds must be repaid at the end of the year) to develop its production and business.

The enterprise may, in accordance with the cash plan registered with the bank, retain a certain amount of cash necessary for everyday production and business.

Enterprises that have foreign currency funds must deposit foreign currency in the bank and may use this foreign currency as stipulated in state regulations.

To guarantee the financial autonomy of enterprises, the state will promulgate a new policy on finances as they relate to enterprises, a policy based on the principle of insuring that enterprises accumulate capital more quickly and increasing the revenue sources of the state budget.

On the other hand, the state must quickly set a new direction for the organization and operations of the bank and revise policies, systems and procedures that have become outmoded.

#### 4. Pricing.

The state will set the prices of the primary materials and products that are managed exclusively by the state and set the price scale or price standards for other important products. As regards these other important products, the enterprise may, on its own initiative, formulate a price plan that lies within the scope of the price scale and price standards set by the state and must defend this plan before the agency that approves prices.

In the case of other products, the enterprise may use the prices set within the price scale stipulated by the local administration or set prices on its own on the basis of accurately calculating production costs but must refrain from operating on the basis of the free market mechanism.

The enterprise must strictly adhere to the price discipline of the state.

#### 5. Labor and wages.

The enterprise director may hire, train and utilize labor in accordance with the requirements of production and business and may offer awards to, take disciplinary action against or fire manual workers and civil servants on the basis of state law.

The enterprise must calculate its plan wage fund on the basis of the salary scales and tables of the state and may apply, on its own initiative, the various forms of wages and bonuses and expand the use of contract wages and piecework wages.

On the other hand, the state will urgently revise provisions of the current wage policy that are unreasonable so that the principle of distribution in accordance with labor can be implemented more thoroughly.



## 6. Science and technology.

The enterprise may, on its own initiative, decide the technical plans pertaining to production and products and establish ties of one form or another with scientific research agencies. When necessary, the enterprise can set up a technical research and testing organization, a test production unit and so forth. The enterprise may also utilize, on its own initiative, the other sources of capital for the purpose of organizing scientific and technical activities.

As for itself, the state will allow the enterprise to retain for a period of several years the additional profits accruing from the application of scientific and technical achievements. It will also move the applied science and technology research institutes to basic production or business units or closely tie their operations to the production and business operations of basic units.

7. Correctly implementing the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise collective ownership, the state manages" and the one-person-in-command policy in economic management at basic units.

The enterprise party committee has the tasks of performing good political and ideological work, building the party organization and mass organizations within the enterprise well, performing good cadre work and inspections and creating every possible favorable condition for the director to fulfill his tasks.

Through the activities of the Trade Union organization and many other forms of activity, the collective of manual workers and civil servants exercise the following authority and perform the following tasks: participating in the formulation of the socio-economic plan; participating in deciding how to make rational use of the various types of funds and how to use the enterprise's welfare funds; contributing their opinions on every aspect of cadre work at the enterprise; inspecting and supervising production and business activities and the implementation of economic management policies and regulations by the director; and deciding the internal rules of the enterprise, which must be consistent with the systems and laws of the state. They also have the responsibility of making their unit a wholesome, united collective that is disciplined and always completes the task assigned to it.

The director has the responsibility and authority to formulate the plan and manage production and business in accordance with the plan approved by the upper level; issue decisions on the organization of the management apparatus and the assignment of assistants on the basis of surveying the opinions of the enterprise's manual workers and civil servants and discussing and reaching agreement concerning these matters with the party committee (the chief accountant will be appointed by the state; the appointment of deputy directors will be decided by the upper level on the basis of suggestions made by the director and after reaching agreement with the party committee); hire, train, reward and take disciplinary action against manual workers and civil servants, including firing persons who do not perform the task stated in their contract, after consulting with the leadership of the trade union; and organize and

control security and self-defense forces in order to protect enterprise property. Soon, Enterprise Director Statutes will be issued and a pilot project will be conducted in appointing directors on the basis of a vote of confidence by manual workers and civil servants.

In addition to the fundamental matters presented above, our party has also set forth principles to be used as the basis for amending and revising the Federation of State-operated Enterprises Statutes.

Our party has also adopted a number of new positions concerning small industry and handicraft production (encompassing the collective economy as well as the household economy and private economy). In addition, the party demands full compliance with the spirit and letter of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee and the various directives that have been issued by the party and state. It is necessary to conduct a review of the management of agricultural cooperatives and prepare a plan on the management mechanism for collective economic units, a plan that must be closely tied to revamping the overall management mechanism within agriculture, to be discussed and decided upon by the Political Bureau in 1986. The prevailing spirit behind these new positions is to move in the direction of building an appropriate management mechanism with the aim of fully developing potentials and bringing the activities of small industry and handicraft production and agriculture within the sphere of socialism.

The revamping of the economic management of basic economic units must be carried out in a positive and stable manner, in suitable stages with well coordinated and systematic measures being employed in each stage.

The first step that must be taken is to widely publicize the "resolution of the Political Bureau (draft) on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units" among cadres and party members and all strata of the people so that everyone thoroughly understands and actively implements this resolution and turns its implementation into a spirited revolutionary movement at basic units on each level and within each sector.

In the work of providing a thorough understanding of and implementing this resolution, it is necessary to combat the following two incorrect tendencies:

First, conservatism, inertia and not wanting or being determined to revamp the management mechanism;

Secondly, liberalism, the lack of organization, the lack of discipline and taking it upon oneself to "tear down fences," even in the case of the new regulations of the party and state on revamping the management mechanism of basic economic units.

Both of these tendencies are contrary to the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and both impede the implementation of the party's resolution.

The only correct attitude to take here is to scrupulously comply with the resolution of the party and state and the legal documents concretizing its

contents. We may not, in the name of centralized management, maintain conservative habits, inertia and violations of the autonomy of basic units. Nor may we, in the name of expanding the practice of democracy and guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of the enterprise, weaken the centralized, unified management of the state. The political and ideological basis of such a correct attitude is the existence of the interests of all society. We must consider the interests of all society to be higher than all other interests, must take the view of the whole and the nation when resolving each specific problem encountered in revamping the management mechanism. At the same time, very much confidence must be placed in the creativity of the masses, of basic units and appropriate attention must be given to their immediate interests. Without taking this approach, it is impossible to avoid falling victim to the maladies of conservatism, inertia and liberalism, as well as the maladies of partialism and localism and avoid placing partial interests in opposition to the interests of the whole, the interests of the locality in opposition to national interests, the interests of the individual labor and small collective in opposition to the interests of society or, conversely, disregarding the interests of the collective in the name of the interests of society, thereby seriously violating the principle that we combine the three interests in a way that is well balanced on the basis of considering the interests of society to be the highest interests and harming the whole of our effort to revamp our country's economic management.

Of course, the timely promulgation of laws and regulations concerning this matter is very necessary. Needed first are temporary regulations and policies on planning, finances and banking, on exports, imports and the use of foreign currency, on the organization of supply operations and pricing and on labor and economic contracts.

A plan for revamping the overall management mechanism must be urgently prepared. In the immediate future, it is necessary to restructure production and the organization of the apparatus within each basic unit and reduce the size of administrative staffs and indirect staffs in production and business; promptly train cadres and replace cadres who are not suited to their task and the new mode of management; and find and promote cadres who possess good qualities, are competent and are sensitive to the new to leadership and management positions on all levels and within all sectors.

Lastly, we must provide stronger guidance and management. Of basic importance here is the need for all levels and sectors to maintain close contact with basic units and provide guidance at key places in order to assess the situation, promptly gain experience, build upon things that are correct, rectify shortcomings and mistakes that might arise and detect and promptly deal with new, complex developments in the situation.

Closely united and disciplined and having adopted new economic thinking, our party will successfully lead the work being done this time to revamp the management of the economy and gradually achieve concrete, clear results,



thereby making positive contributions to bringing about a gradual change in our country's socio-economic situation while creating favorable conditions for the success of the party's upcoming 6th Congress to be held late this year.

7809

CSO: 4210/11

## THE 10TH PLENUM OF THE 5TH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 p 7

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In late May and early June 1986, the 5th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam held its 10th Plenum.

General Secretary Le Duan delivered the opening address. He said: "This plenum of the Central Committee will prepare the agenda for the 6th Congress of the Party... The success of this conference will be the first step of decisive significance in the success of the upcoming party congress."

The plenum discussed and unanimously approved the draft of the Political Report to be presented at the 6th National Party Congress.

Displaying a high sense of responsibility to the revolutionary cause of the people and the party, the Central Committee, Political Bureau, Secretariat and Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers engaged in serious self-criticism and criticism, in the course of which they clearly stated their strongpoints, deeply analyzed their mistakes and shortcomings in leadership, guidance and management and adopted effective corrective measures. The plenum expressed the firm confidence that conducting a good self-criticism and criticism drive throughout the party, from the Party Central Committee to the various levels and basic units, will create an atmosphere of enthusiasm and increase the people's confidence in the leadership of the party.

The Central Committee debated a number of amendments and revisions to Party Statutes, the aims of which are to enhance the class character and increase the militancy of the party, heighten the vanguard, exemplary character of the party member and uphold the principle of democratic centralism within the party.

After discussing and analyzing the shortcomings and mistakes made in guiding the work performed in the fields of prices, wages and money, the Central Committee strongly affirmed that the basic spirit and content of the resolution of the 8th Plenum are correct, are of profound revolutionary significance, reflect a strategic resolve to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift to economic accounting and socialist business

practices and mark a new stage in the growth of our party in economic leadership. The plenum mapped out guidelines for the entire party and pointed out a number of pressing jobs in the fields of prices, wages and money that must be performed to gradually stabilize the socio-economic situation and correctly implement the resolution of the 8th Plenum and the resolutions of the Political Bureau.

Following this plenum, our entire party will focus its efforts on the work of the 6th National Congress of Delegates, beginning by insuring that fine results are achieved at the congresses of delegates on the various levels.

The 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee appealed to our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people to display high revolutionary determination, make every effort to overcome difficulties, enthusiastically emulate in work and production, provide stronger management, practice frugality, meet and exceed the quotas of the 1986 state plan and build momentum to enthusiastically record practical achievements in celebration of the congresses of delegates on the various levels and the 6th National Congress of Delegates of the Party, thereby helping to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

7809

CSO: 4210/11

## THE AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF BASIC ECONOMIC UNITS IN PRODUCTION AND BUSINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 8-18

[Article by Vo Chi Cong; passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] Recently, we have taken the first steps in revising a number of economic policies, and this has had a salutary effect on production and circulation. However, to this day, the managerial system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has not yet been radically abolished and the new managerial system has not yet taken shape.

The state of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, which is closely linked with dependence, passiveness, fragmentation and localism in economic guidance and management has existed for a long time. The organization of production is irrational in many respects; planning work has not been renovated and is unrealistic; and the organization of the managerial apparatus is bulky, cumbersome, inefficient and incapable of distinguishing between the function of administrative management and that of production and business management.

These shortcomings have hampered the development of the basic economic units' collective mastery and autonomy in production and business; at the same time, they have made it impossible to insure the state's centralized and unified leadership and management.

To change the present socio-economic situation of the country, /renovating economic management/ is a task of utmost importance.

This time around, management renovation is a major movement of profound economic, political and social significance, especially for the consolidation and strengthening of socialist production relations and for the promotion of the scientific and technological revolution aimed at developing the production force to suit the actual objective situation of our country, which is still in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

Renovation of the managerial system must be carried out in conjunction with the reorganization of production and the rearrangement of the economic structure. This is a complex task, a long and continuous process requiring

the renovation of the entire managerial system of the national economy and society; but it must be done step by step and in a well coordinated and steady manner. In the immediate future, we will choose the task of /insuring the basis economic units' right to autonomy in production and business as the first link to be renovated simultaneously with the renovation of the general managerial system./ This is aimed at bringing into full play the working people's mastery as a moving force and increasing the powers and responsibilities of various establishments, sectors and levels to develop the economy with ever higher productivity, quality and efficiency. Satisfactorily carrying out this task will help create conditions for stabilizing and gradually improving the living standard of the working people, increasing the sources of capital accumulation for the cause of socialist industrialization, consolidating and perfecting new production relations, frustrating all enemy schemes and tricks of sabotage, effectively struggling against negative phenomena, satisfactorily safeguarding socialist property and strengthening national defense and security.

Renovation of management in basic economic units is particularly important because these basic units are the foundation of the socio-economic organizations, the places where all material wealth of society is created and the source of accumulation originating from surplus products. It is in the basic economic units that the working people directly exercise their right to collective mastery under the party leadership and the state management. For this reason, the basic economic units must be assured of full powers and interests; at the same time, they must fully discharge their responsibilities and obligations toward the entire country.

The decades-long practice of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has led to passivism and a tendency to rely on others, thereby making it impossible to develop a sense of autonomy and responsibility among the laboring people in various state enterprises. The means of production and the products of the state-run economic sector are under the ownership of the entire people. The collective working people in state enterprises are granted by the state /the right to use directly and manage part of the means of production/ under the ownership of the entire people to carry out production for the benefit of society. The successes or failures of enterprises—whether their economic efficiency is high or low, whether they are making profits, operating at a loss, or going bankrupt—will be mainly decided by the laboring people in these enterprises themselves. Therefore, the collective laboring people in each enterprise, ranging from the director and managerial cadres to the workers, must be fully aware of their rights, duties, benefits and obligations in production and business. But for a long time now, the old-fashioned management mechanism that features passivism and a tendency to rely on the state has eroded and paralyzed all the initiatives of the laboring people. The laboring people have at times become indifferent to the production and business results of their enterprises because the state takes care of everything and because the responsibility for all the enterprises' production results, good or bad, rests with the state and is not directly linked with the laboring people's realistic benefits and duties. Now, if we wish to arouse the sense of mastery, creativity, responsibility and obligations of the laboring people as well as their sense of organization and discipline to develop satisfactorily the production and business activities of

enterprises, we must resolve to discard our centralized, bureaucratic and subsidy-based management mechanism, establish the right to autonomy in production and business for basic economic units and make enterprises truly shift to economic accounting and socialist business.

Renovating the management of basic economic units and the general economic management mechanism must be based on various basic socio-economic management principles. The following are a number of basic principles to be firmly grasped in renovating the economic management mechanism.

/Guarantee basic economic units' right to autonomy in production and business on the principle of the socialist economic management system./

In socialist economic management, the state at the central level will constantly enhance its centralized and unified leadership and management over all main fields of activity, devise plans for national economic development and for the management of the country's natural resources, firmly secure control over important commodities and essential means of production, make major decisions on balancing the national economy, provide direct and effective management for those sectors playing an important role in the national economy, establish economic-financial policies and national economic-technical norms, satisfactorily carry out planning for cadre training, provide guidance for the cooperation of various sectors and economic units and conduct control work and inspections to uphold the law and discipline regarding management and to insure correct enforcement of various policies and the state law.

All economic units must have their right to autonomy in production and business fully guaranteed under centralized and unified state control. Every enterprise must be placed under the direct jurisdiction of a responsible organ at the higher echelon and under the supervision and control of other authoritative organs concerned so it can exercise correctly its rights and responsibilities as follow:

/First,/ maintain, handle and develop its fixed assets and state-allocated liquid funds in accordance with state policies and law while creating more funds by itself to carry out expanded production.

/Second,/ strengthen the production-business structure in accordance with the orientations, tasks and targets of the state plan; the requirements of society; and the production-business capability of units.

/Third,/ establish production-business relations with other economic units at home and abroad in accordance with state regulations on economic contracts.

/Fourth,/ encourage the application of scientific and technological advances and invent and develop technology to contribute to accelerating the scientific and technological revolution.

/Fifth,/ units must fulfill their obligation in consuming products according to contracts, especially in supplying goods to state-run business

establishments for distribution in accordance with the set plan to meet the common requirements of society and to procure funds for the state budget.

/Sixth,/ satisfactorily solve social problems within economic units.

/Seventh,/ strengthen the organizational structure of training, forging and using workers and cadres in accordance with state policy.

During the past years, due to the application of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, economic units had no autonomy in production and business. Moreover, due to such phenomena as fragmentation, departmentalism, arbitrariness, disorganization and undiscipline, the higher echelons could not implement the effective integration of economic management. Integration and democracy are the two factors that must be firmly grasped in economic management. We must unanimously insure the implementation of basic economic units' autonomy in production and business, while accelerating the effective leadership and unified integrated management of the state at the central level. We must eliminate such phenomena as conservatism, sluggishness, rejecting changes, clinging to bureaucratic centralism and inefficiency, which are in reality a loose integration. On the contrary, we must criticize and promptly adjust such democratic trends that demand too many rights and interests for basic units, while neglecting the rights, interests, obligations and responsibilities of enterprises toward the state and attempting to turn each enterprise into a separate "kingdom," thus freeing it from the correct integrated management of the state. Only by guaranteeing the autonomy of basic economic units, accelerating the development and improvement of the unified integrated management of the state at the central level and maintaining a rational division of responsibility between the central and local levels can we insure effective production and business in enterprises in accordance with the socialist orbit and bring about desired results, meeting the socio-economic development requirements of the whole nation, thereby insuring long-term interests of enterprises and the workers.

/The renovation of management for basic economic units as well as the general renovation of economic management must be carried out on the basis of relying chiefly on planning, while correctly utilizing the relations of goods and money to enable enterprises to shift realistically to the socialist accounting and business system./

The socialist economy is a planned economy aimed at satisfying the growing needs of all members of society on the basis of an increasingly developed material and technical basis and the regime of socialist collective mastery. However, production under socialism still has the character of goods production, although this character has changed somewhat. For this reason, the law of value, the common law of all goods production systems, still exists and remains in effect. The only difference is that, under the socialist system, the characteristic laws of socialism play the leading role and act as the main regulator of the social production system, whereas the law of value no longer fully retains its role as a spontaneous regulator of all economic activities as it did under the previous production systems. However, as long as goods production exists, even in the form of a planned socialist production system, economic activities will inevitably continue to be affected by the law



of value. We must be really active and correctly apply in a really voluntary manner the characteristic economic laws of socialism as well as the law of value and the goods-money and market relations in managerial and planning work to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency for the socialist economic system while effectively curbing the negative socio-economic aspects spawned by the effect of the spontaneous law of value.

The material premise of the planned and balanced development of the national economy as well as the development of production and business in each economic unit is the nature and level of socialization of the work force. However, socialization of the work force alone is not enough to result in a planned and balanced economic development in the entire society, a task that can be achieved only under the system of socialist ownership of the means of production and in the condition that the political force representing the system is the dictatorship of the working class.

There is a thesis that a socialized production system is the factor deciding the planned economic development, that planned economic development is not a particular product of socialism, that capitalism has practiced it for a long time, and that, with an increasingly higher character and level of socialization of its production force, capitalism has applied planned production even in the multinational and international corporations, a feat that socialism will not be able to achieve for some time. This is an erroneous thesis. We all know that capitalism has reached a very high standard of organization and management within the limits of each enterprise (including multinational and international corporations), which even the communists themselves must study to do a good job of organizing and management socialist enterprises. But capitalism is incapable of guiding planned economic development throughout society because a capitalist economy is based on the system of capitalist private ownership of the means of production. As such, a capitalist economy must develop according to the law of competition. Even in the stage wherein a capitalist monopoly has reached a very high level, the effects of this law cannot be negated. We must clearly perceive the difference in nature between capitalism and socialism, between the so-called "capitalist planning" and socialist planning.

On the basis of the system of socialist ownership of the means of production, various laws of socialist economy appear, activate and exert ever greater effects to insure the planned development of the economy. The law of planned and balanced development is one of the economic laws characteristic of socialism. Voluntary and correct application of this law will guarantee that production, distribution, exchange and consumption in the national economic system develop in a balanced and harmonious fashion and ceaselessly forge ahead without being interrupted by economic crises as they often are under capitalism. Naturally, the nature and level of socialization of the production force is directly related to the level of planning of the national economy. We must take this factor into account when applying the law of planned and balanced development in the initial stage of the period of transition from small-scale to large-scale socialist production in our country and must guard against subjectivism, hastiness and bureaucratic and formalist planning.



/The key problem in renovating the economic managerial system is renovating planning work/ in both content and method. All sluggishness in production and business in the past stemmed from incorrect planning work. The production, technical, financial and social welfare plans of the entire country and of each locality and unit are a whole reflecting the application of the entire system of economic law characteristic of socialism and other economic laws that continue to exist and operate under socialism, including the laws of the commodity-based economy such as the law of value, the law of supply and demand and the law of monetary circulation. These plans encompass various aspects such as production, distribution, circulation and consumption and are formulated on the basis of a system of well-balanced norms, uniform and suitable economic measures and economic contracts. Each economic unit is placed under the direct management of a higher managerial organ and is authorized to take the initiative in formulating optimal production and business plans in conformity with the guidelines, tasks and targets of the state and the needs of society. The enterprise must bear full responsibility for losses or profits and must strive to make production and business operations profitable in the interest of the entire society and, at the same time, in the interest of the enterprise itself and of the worker. Basic economic units must satisfactorily fulfill the norms of goods and value and must achieve practical and ever higher economic efficiency.

We cannot accept the viewpoint contending that all production and business activities of basic economic units must proceed from market demands; that the enterprise must be allowed to choose to produce whatever can earn more profits, to be free to buy and sell state-controlled supplies and to sell its products at market prices; that "all kinds of products must be commercialized;" and that the state itself, if it wants to gain control of products turned out by state-operated enterprise, must also procure them through economic contracts and at agreed-upon prices. This viewpoint is totally erroneous. To meet the demands of production and life of the entire society, we must always pay attention to both the use-value and value of goods. All production and business activities of the enterprise must, first of all, be conducted in accordance with the guidelines, tasks and targets of the state plans to satisfy the needs of production and life for the entire society; at the same time, they must achieve high economic efficiency and make a profit to insure incessant expanded production.

Concerning products essential for the production and life of society, the main task of the enterprise is to produce according to the demands of the state plan, which has taken into account the demands of the market so as to satisfy the needs of society and to meet the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism. The enterprise has the right to rely on the requirements of the state plan, the demands of the market, the capability of various sources to provide supplies, and the projected consumption of products through economic contracts to work out its own production and business plan so as to make the best use of the enterprise's machine capacity and production potential. However, all production and business activities of the enterprise, regardless of the different sources from which it receives supplies, must be reflected in its 5-year and annual production, technical, financial and social welfare plans. The enterprise is absolutely not allowed to set up a production component outside the set plan to increase its own income from price

differential or through other illegitimate activities in order to establish a private fund for distribution within the enterprise.

We must improve planning work and the system of economic contracts in the supply of materials so that enterprises can receive essential materials on schedule at the most convenient places and with minimum transport expenses without going through various unnecessary intermediary links. On that basis, enterprises and material supply organizations, as well as raw material production units, must sign economic contracts with each other, correctly implement what they have signed in the contracts and take equal responsibility before the law for the implementation of economic contracts. Economic contracts will play an increasingly leading role in the formulation and implementation of plans. To implement satisfactorily all economic contracts, it is extremely important to enhance the economic legal system and fully develop the role of the economic arbitration organs at various levels and provide them with a function similar to an economic court.

The labor-wage plan for the entire production-business volume of an enterprise must be formulated in accordance with the norms for the extent of waste of labor and the norms for the payment of wages for each type of product. Wages must be paid in combination with the results of production and business and the level of work completion of the enterprise.

With regard to production costs, it is necessary to formulate plans in accordance with the norms for economic and technical progress and trim all unreasonable and improper expenses. Materials for production, if supplied by the state, must be included in production costs in accordance with state-prescribed prices. Materials for production, if proportioned by enterprises themselves, must be included in production costs in accordance with actual purchase prices within a state-prescribed price bracket. Except for some essential products used as main raw materials by many important production sectors in the country, the state will assign mandatory norms for reduction of the extent of waste or reduction of the production costs of a number of products that are liable to unusually large profits or are still subject to state-subsidy prices due to social policies. This is necessary in establishing a basis for enterprises to estimate their wholesale prices and insure their legitimate profits. In general, the state will not assign mandatory norms for production costs as it did in past management practices. When enterprises are responsible for their own losses and profits in production and business transactions as well as for their own interests, it is necessary for them to pay adequate attention to carefully estimating production costs on the basis of various norms and price lists. At the same time, they must actively enforce various economic and technical measures and constantly strive to lower production costs in order to insure ever larger profits. This also requires that all responsible sectors effect a new change in work related to finance, planning, labor, wages, statistics and accounting as well as in the manner of approach so as to manage various enterprises in a more effective manner.

Enterprises must take the initiative in formulating their financial plans. With regard to funds, apart from the fund allocated to them only once at the beginning and part of the annual revenues left behind for them by the state,

enterprises must work out plans to create their own funds or replenish self-acquired funds by striving to develop production, increasing labor productivity, improving the quality of products and lowering production costs. Enterprises are allowed to seek loans from banks for use as funds or borrow idle money temporarily from their workers and employees when banks still do not have enough money to extend loans to them. It is necessary to formulate plans for profits from all production and business activities regardless of the sources of supply.

Depending on the specific production and business situation and conditions of various enterprises, managerial organs at the higher level are authorized to directly assign to each of them one to three mandatory norms. These norms are: the value of goods produced (with the value of goods for export clearly indicated); the amount of key products, the specifications and quality of which must be defined and must be consumed according to set plans and contracts (with the amounts slated for national defense and export, if any, clearly indicated); and the sums to be contributed to the budget (including profits and other kinds of revenue).

For products essential to production, life, national defense and export, the state must necessarily assign legal norms to cover the products to be distributed according to plans and contracts. For enterprises that produce items not listed in the nomenclature of essential goods and have to procure by themselves virtually all or a large part of the key supplies needed for production--hence, their production is unstable--the state may assign only a single legal norm to cover revenue contributions to the budget.

Along the aforesaid line, the state shall further concretize the legal norms to suit each type of state-run enterprises belonging to the industrial, agricultural, building, transportation, circulation--including home trade, export-import, and supply businesses--and other sectors.

In the renovation of the content and methods of planning at every basic economic unit as well as at each level, in each sector and on a national scale, there are many issues that need to be studied and concretized further in order to insure that the state plan is formulated in a truly democratic and scientific manner to combine the formulation and integration of plans from the bottom up with the firm and scientifically based balance calculations made by state planning organs. The content of planning should also encompass the application of scientific-technological innovations, the use of science and technology as a direct production force and the enforcement of economic incentive policies involving prices, wages, profits, finances, taxation and credit to create truly strong driving forces for guaranteeing successful implementation of the plan.

/It is necessary to harmoniously reconcile the three interests--the interest of the entire society, the interest of the collective and the interest of the laboring people--at basic economic units./

A very strong driving force that encourages production development and increases the productivity of enterprises lies in the correct resolution of /economic interests./ Lenin taught: "Even the loftiest ideals are not worth

a penny unless we know how to closely combine these ideals with the interests of the very participants in the economic struggle."(1)

Economic interests belong to an objective economic category, but they also provide the motive for man's activities. Therefore, they become a strong driving force that encourages economic development. Once economic interests are consciously triggered, they will vigorously encourage individual efforts, thereby making the economic policies of the party and state win true response from the masses and shaking the entire mass movement for productive labor to build socialism. The movement for productive labor in agriculture and industry has been given a vigorous boost with the resolution of the relations between the state and agricultural cooperatives and between the state and cooperatives and cooperative member peasants in line with the various directives issued by the party and state, including the system of product contracts for labor groups and laborers (according to Directive Number 100 of the Party Central Committee Secretariat) as well as with the resolution of the relations between the state and enterprises and between the state and enterprises and the workers (according to Decisions Number 25-CP, 26-CP and Number 156-HDBT of the state), including the broadening of various forms of contract wages and bonuses. In the past 5 years, although the material-technical bases for production were generally not larger than previously and the volume of imported supplies and raw material needed for production only amounted to two-thirds of that in the preceding 5-year period, agricultural and industrial production surmounted the difficulties, stagnation and recession characteristic of the 1979-1980 period and has, since 1982, developed at considerable speed. In particular, agricultural production has developed at a fairly rapid rate. This is possible thanks to the gradual changes effected in economic management to insure the harmonious reconciliation of the three interests and guarantee the direct interests of the laboring people.

However, we have, until now, not been able to resolve this issue satisfactorily. In the state-run and collectivized economies, the immediate interests of enterprises are in basic agreement with the direct interests of individual laboring people, but contradictions do exist. This is an objective problem. We must make enterprises and the laboring people clearly realize that the interest of the entire society which is represented by the state is the basic interest, and that only when this interest is met in full will we have the conditions for insuring the stability and constant enrichment of the interests of enterprises and the laboring people. At the same time, it is also necessary to make the comprehensive management organs and higher-level managerial cadres of the state deeply realize that only by paying sufficient attention to the immediate interest of the enterprises and the direct interest of the laboring people will society be able to steadily accumulate capital at each basic economic unit and, on this basis, to round up ever more revenues for the state budget with the aim of perpetuating the process of expanded reproduction on a society-wide basis. By paying attention to the daily direct interest of the laboring people and the limited interest of the enterprises while neglecting the interest of society as a whole, we can, for a short period of time, stimulate production immediately; but, in the long run, society will be unable to create the material-technical bases necessary for continual expanded reproduction by the enterprises, thus hurting the



enterprises themselves as well as the laboring people. On the contrary, if adequate attention is focused not on rapidly accumulating capital from the grassroots level, especially in our country where we are advancing from small-scale production, and on appropriately meeting the daily direct interest of the laboring people but on increasing the sources of revenues for the state budget, we will be unable to stimulate the development of production and, consequently, have no bases for increasing budget revenues. Therefore, all echelons, sectors and basic units, as well as all laboring people must clearly realize this. At the same time, it is necessary to make managerial cadres and everyone deeply understand that rights and interests are always closely linked with responsibilities and obligations; for rights never go without obligations and vice versa. We must correctly insure the interests of the state and the enterprises as well as of the laboring people. The laboring people must be made to understand that whenever and wherever the interests of the state and the collective are not protected, the legitimate interest of the laboring people will not be fully honored so they will become clearly conscious of their responsibility toward the enterprise's production activities, fulfill their obligations toward the state and actively and selflessly work for the interests of the entire society, the enterprise and themselves.

It is necessary to criticize the departmentalistic and egoistic tendency of cutting down the interest of the state to increase the enterprise's income even though this is not permitted by the enterprise's production conditions and economic efficiency. Not a few enterprises have taken the liberty of retaining a sizable part of their products for internal distribution under one form or another; for barter with other production units for consumer goods, for inclusion to their own consumer funds; for increasing the actual income of their workers, employees and cadres; or for increasing their own income or covering their own losses due to poor management through out-of-the-plan sale and barter transactions concluded at free market prices to deprive other economic units of part of their surplus products and rob other laboring people through the collection of illegitimate price differentials. Such practices have disrupted the economic accounting system and given rise to numerous negative phenomena not only in the economic but also social fields. Therefore, they must be promptly and resolutely prevented and controlled by every means possible.

In renovating economic management, we must /use and combine more satisfactorily three kinds of measures--economic, administrative-organizational and educational./

Of the three, economic measures are fundamental. There must be correct economic management policies and procedures to link interests with responsibilities, to insure worthy material compensation for good workers and capable producers, and at the same time to compel inefficient workers and incompetent producers to shoulder material responsibility. There must be a better understanding of the principle of distribution according to labor in the wage and bonus system and correct implementation of the material penalty system in production and business.

Administrative-organizational and educational measures are very important to the enhancement of economic management efficiency. These measures have taken

on a particularly important significance now that our country is engaged in a struggle against the enemy's border-nibbling war and multifaceted war of sabotage and another arduous and complex struggle between the two roads--socialist and capitalist--to settle the question "who will beat whom?" We must really uphold the law and strengthen discipline in economic management and strictly control and supervise all production and business activities and all product and income distribution in each enterprise and throughout society. We must severely and fairly deal with all breaches of law, promptly punish degenerate and deviant elements and replace those cadres lacking political quality and economic management capability. We must satisfactorily carry out the task of political and ideological indoctrination and the task of motivating workers and civil servants, bringing into full play the working people's collective mastery, building stable and strong mass organizations and stirring up a vigorous mass movement for revolutionary action in all establishments. We must step up the emulation movement for carrying out technical innovations, rationally organizing production and improving economic management in order to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency and to effectively struggle against all negative phenomena and enemy sabotage activities.

/We must correctly implement the mechanism of "party leadership, people's collective mastery and state management" and the one-chief system in economic management in basic units./ Enterprise party committees are responsible for satisfactorily carrying out ideological work, building basic party organizations, doing cadre work, building mass organizations, developing emulation movements in various units and correctly performing their supervisory functions so as to insure correct implementation of party lines and policies and state management systems and laws in enterprises.

Under the leadership of party committees and the guidance of trade organizations, workers and civil servants in an enterprise are responsible for building their own unit into a good working collective capable of fulfilling any task.

The director, who directly manages the production and business activities of an enterprise, must be a person really endowed with political quality, capabilities and experience in production and business management. He must be responsive to new ideas and must respect and develop the role of the party and mass organizations in order to fully and outstandingly fulfill the plan for his enterprise.

The task of guaranteeing the basic economic units' autonomy in production and business must be carried out simultaneously with the task of restructuring and reorganizing production throughout the country in each area and locality to create favorable conditions for promoting economic development and implementing the new managerial system.

Renovating management at basic economic units and renovating general economic management in accordance with economic accounting and socialist business are renovations of a highly revolutionary nature vis-a-vis the entire socio-economic life and are inseparable from the simultaneous carrying out of the three revolutions. Therefore, we must regard this as an undertaking of the

masses. We must motivate and organize a large number of the masses to participate in and implement this constantly. We must change our old-fashioned way of thinking including the mass psychology and must shape a methodology complete with logical and dialectical thinking in conformity with the objective evolutionary law of society and production.

We must attach specific importance to ideological work, especially within leading party and state organs at various echelons and within the contingent of key leadership and management cadres of various economic units. We must urgently cultivate and improve the ideological knowledge of all the people, making them thoroughly aware of and fully agree with those viewpoints and policies outlined in the Political Bureau's (draft) resolution on "guaranteeing basic economic units' right to autonomy in production and business," and determined to overcome erroneous and outdated conceptions created by the old-fashioned mode of management and business.

Simultaneously, we must link our organizational work with our ideological work and must, in a resolute and timely manner, replace those leadership and management cadres who are unqualified and incompetent and who are incapable of acquiring and doing new things. Replacing cadres and strengthening the management mechanism at all levels, especially at various economic units, are of great importance for guaranteeing enterprises' right to autonomy in production and business. Through efforts to do ideological and organizational work satisfactorily, we must truly create a high degree of singlemindedness and then generate the strength of the unity of minds and actions of the entire party and people to shift to the new management mechanism.

The Political Bureau's resolution on "guaranteeing basic economic units' right to autonomy in production and business" must first be thoroughly studied and discussed by those sectors and echelons affected if we are to effect a change in their thoughts. We must then use this as a basis for re-examining old regulations, systems and professional methods and establishing new policies, systems and regulations. We must urgently and promptly train leadership and management cadres on this renovation of management mechanism.

The guaranteeing of economic units' right to autonomy in production and business must be exercised in an urgent, resolute but uniform and steady manner. All echelons and sectors, from the central down to the local levels, must provide leadership to pilot areas and must involve themselves more deeply in the reality to study, inspect and promptly detect problems if they are to maintain their initiative and creativity while correcting in time those irregularities committed at the grassroots level.

We must uphold a sense of discipline and scrupulously comply with party resolutions and the state law. All party and government echelons, party organs, ministries and economic sectors must correctly maintain discipline governing the submission of reports, the asking for instructions and the making of suggestions on problems to be presented to the Political Bureau in order to resolve correctly and promptly possible complex developments of the situation as well as those problems which have just arisen in the process of implementation.

All sectors and echelons must frequently review and round up their experience in order to further enrich the providing of guidance for renovation of economic management for basic economic units.

Economic management is an extremely difficult and complex task, especially at a time when we are in the process of moving from small production to large-scale socialist production. We must work boldly and must have the courage to take responsibility. We must organize leadership activities carefully and must work while studying and drawing from experience in order to insure that our work is well done. We must not show any procrastination or hesitation and must, at the same time, not be subjective, nervous and hasty such as demanding that every job be quickly and perfectly carried out. Lenin said: No one is born with the art of management; one must experiment with this art before mastering it. In the initial stage of the transition to socialism, the working class cannot but explore and experiment with this art so it can select new methods that meet the needs of the new objective situation. And we may have to pay for the cost of our new lessons.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 1, pp 510-511.

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## IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF INSPECTION WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 19-23

[Article by Bui Quang Tao]

[Text] Shortly after the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh signed the Decree Establishing the Special Control Department (23 November 1945) to inspect the implementation of the lines and policies of the party and government. Since then, our party and state have issued many resolutions and directives on inspection work.

At the 1957 Control Conference, President Ho Chi Minh advised cadres: "Control work is very important work. If the Party Central Committee or the government issue a resolution or directive to the sectors and localities, it is difficult for the upper level to know, without inspections, whether a locality has implemented it well, half-way or poorly, whether the locality has implemented it or not. The locality itself frequently does not know. The upper level does not know what the lower level is doing. The lower level does not know what the upper level is doing. The purpose of inspections is to observe and determine how these plans, directives and policies are being implemented by the localities... If they make mistakes or encounter difficulties, control work also helps them to correctly comply with the resolutions and directives sent down from the upper level.

Inspections not only entail conducting investigations and research to determine the extent of compliance with resolutions and directives, but also involve observing what is being done until this work is completed and done well...

In summary, inspections are the eyes and ears of the upper level, the friend of the lower level..."(1)

In Directive number 38, the Party Secretariat defined the important role of inspections as follows: "Inspection organizations are the competent tools of the party and government in inspecting and controlling compliance with the lines, policies and positions of the party and the laws and plans of the state." Inspection work is not simply the work of the upper level, but the work of every level. It is not only the work of leaders, but also the work of the masses. It reflects unity between the interests of the state and the

interests of the people. Wherever leadership is provided, wherever activities are conducted, inspections and control work must be performed. Inspections are an important, indispensable part of the leadership provided by the party and the management provided by the state. They are an effective tool of the leader and manager. At the same time, they are a necessary part of the exercise of collective ownership by the masses. They play an important role in stimulating full compliance with the lines, positions and policies of the party, with the laws and plans of the state and in upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the people.

To improve the quality and effectiveness of inspections, there are many matters that must be addressed. At present, efforts must be focused on the following several matters of major and pressing importance:

1. Thoroughly understanding the party's views on inspections and correctly implementing these views in inspection activities.

The purposes of inspections are to prevent and help to rectify shortcomings and build upon strengths. Inspections must bring to light and provide a correct evaluation of achievements, strengths, new factors, new advances and good innovations and experiences in order to propose praise for positive and progressive factors, build upon these factors and insure that these factors make steady inroads against negative factors and push them into the background. Inspections must promptly bring to light new shortcomings and mistakes that arise and suggest effective ways to prevent these shortcomings and mistakes and help to rectify them so that they do not cause major harm. When mistakes of a serious nature are brought to light, mistakes that cause major harm to socialist property, to the property or political life of citizens and have an adverse political effect, strict prosecution in accordance with the policies of the party and laws of the state must be proposed.

Inspection work is work of a public and broad mass nature designed to gain the interest of the people in offering many useful opinions in order to suggest to the leadership agencies of the party and state ways to constantly build upon strengths, overcome weaknesses and improve the quality of leadership and management.

Only by understanding and correctly implementing the party's views on inspections in practical activities is it possible to improve the quality and effectiveness of inspections, win the sympathy and support of large numbers of cadres, manual workers, civil servants and people and achieve a combined strength with which to wage an effective struggle against negative phenomena. Actual experience shows that when inspection activities only focus on searching out mistakes and shortcomings for punishment while giving little attention to things done correctly and well in order to propose that they be praised and encourage others to do likewise, it is easy to become isolated and difficult to win the sympathy and support of cadres and the people.

2. The basis for formulating and guiding the implementation of an inspection program.

An inspection program must be formulated on the basis of the resolutions and directives of the party and administration and the socio-economic plan of the state. This is one of the important requirements in increasing the impact of inspections and implementing a program via the system of inspection organizations.

The implementation of an inspection program demands the mobilization of the entire system and the various inspection organizations to work together on a regular basis. Depending upon the specific situation, inspection efforts must focus on a number of important and pressing issues as determined by the requirements of the party and state.

Through guiding the implementation of an inspection program, we gain clear insight into the actual situation surrounding compliance with the resolutions, positions and policies of the party and state and the activities of the apparatus and cadres of the party and administration on the various levels. In the process, much information can be gathered at the basic units of many sectors and localities and the groundwork laid for reporting on the situation and making suggestions to the leadership agencies of the party and state with the aims of correctly evaluating the situation, providing stronger guidance, building upon strengths, rectifying weaknesses, correcting mistakes and struggling to prevent misdeeds.

3. Providing stronger guidance of inspection activities through the system of inspection organizations and adopting plans for coordinating these activities with related organizations.

Ever since the issuance of Party Secretariat Directive Number 38 and Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26, the inspection organization has become a system consisting of the State Inspection Commission, the inspection committees on the provincial, municipal, special zone, district, precinct, ward and equivalent levels and the people's inspection sections on the basic level. This is a system that is under unified guidance and management from the central to the basic levels, which provides very good conditions for building the organization, strengthening the corps of cadres and intensifying inspection activities.

To develop the strength of the entire system of inspection organizations, it is first of all necessary for every inspection organization to assert its role and responsibility, thoroughly familiarize itself with the inspection program adopted by the State Inspection Commission for the entire system of inspection organizations and firmly adhere in the performance of its inspection task to the thoughts of the various party committee echelons and levels of administration and of sector heads concerning leadership and guidance. The State Inspection Commission must strengthen the relations through which it guides the local inspection committees. The local inspection committee is a level within the state inspection system; at the same time, it is a component of the agency leading the administration on the same level. It also has the responsibility of inspecting the implementation of resolutions of the People's Council and the performance of the task contained in the socio-economic plan of the local administration.

Facts show that strengthening the guidance of inspection activities through the system of inspection organizations creates a strength that is well coordinated and increases both the impact and effectiveness of inspections. Many widespread inspections into a single matter which have had the participation of the inspection committees of many provinces and municipalities and the inspection organizations of many ministries and sectors and been under unified guidance have accurately brought problems to light, reached objective conclusions, proposed suitable solutions and been welcomed by the places at which these inspections were conducted. This approach has had the effect of helping to rectify shortcomings, build upon strengths, expedite production and work and bring about the successful completion of assigned tasks.

The methods that must be employed to conduct a good inspection are: conducting the inspection from top to bottom, from bottom to top; instituting a policy of providing complete, hard information and making a full report through the system of inspection organizations, which must be compared to the report of the agency providing guidance with the aim of accurately reflecting the actual situation; and proposing solutions to problems in a truly objective fashion, solutions which much comply with the policies of the party and laws of the state. The conclusion reached through the inspection must be based on the matters into which the inspection was conducted, must be fully documented and must be compared to the positions and policies of the party and laws of the state in order to confirm that things found to be correct are correct, that the things found to be incorrect are incorrect. The proposals resulting from the inspection must be practical, consistent with the specific situation and able to be implemented.

The field of inspection activities is very broad and inspections encompass many issues, each of which is generally related to many departments and sectors, to both the upper level and the lower level. Therefore, specific plans must be adopted to maintain and strengthen the coordination of inspection activities with the activities of related organizations, especially the organizations within the internal affairs bloc, the various departments of the party, the Fatherland Front, the Trade Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Federation of Collective Farmers and propaganda and press agencies, in order to bring a well coordinated strength to inspection activities and build upon the results of inspections.

4. Building a solid and strong inspection organization and strengthening the corps of inspection cadres so that it is a corps which possesses all the necessary qualities and skills.

Inspections are a field of combined, complex activities that sometimes requires arduous, intense struggle and demands broad knowledge, experience in life and the virtues of prudence, tenacity, fairness and impartiality. Inspection activities must be both state and people's activities. Therefore, they place high requirements upon the inspection apparatus and cadres. One important requirement in building solid and strong inspection organizations is to insure that these organizations are both state and people's organizations.

Every inspection organization, from the State Inspection Commission and the inspection committees of the provinces, municipalities, special zone, precincts, wards and districts to the people's inspection sections at basic units and the inspection sections of the ministries and sectors must be both state and people's organizations. Their nature as state organizations stems from the fact that their organization, tasks, authority and activities are defined by law. Their nature as people's activities stems from the recognition of the role played by the masses as participants in inspection activities, their role in supervising and inspecting the implementation of the positions and policies of the party and the plans and laws of the state. To insure that it is both a state and people's organization, every inspection organization must fulfill its stipulated functions and tasks well. Most importantly, the specialized inspection forces have the responsibility of being at the center of work that is difficult and complex. The people's inspection forces, which consist of nearly 20,000 sections with approximately 500,000 inspectors on the basic level, must properly fulfill their functions and tasks of providing regular, on-the-spot supervision and inspection, bringing good work to light, supporting and defending positive factors and waging a determined struggle against wrongdoing and negative phenomena. Performing the above tasks well in a way that produces practical results will have the effect of encouraging the large number of cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants who are inspection collaborators and the people to actively participate in inspection activities.

Special importance must be attached to strengthening the inspection organizations on the district, precinct and ward level so that they are fully capable of guiding, directing and building the people's inspection organizations and the activities involved in routinely supervising and inspecting compliance with the resolutions, directives, positions and policies of the party and the regulations and laws of the state within the village and subward and at each basic production and business unit. Of pressing importance at this time are the needs to make every effort to strengthen existing people's inspection organizations, uniformly improve the quality of their activities so that they yield marked results and adopt plans to quickly, strongly and steadily develop people's inspection organizations at places where they do not exist now.

Inspection cadres who are fully qualified in terms of their revolutionary ethics and their skills are the foundation of the strength and stability of inspection organizations. Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 26 points out: "Inspection cadres must possess good political qualities, display a high spirit of 'impartiality' and a high sense of responsibility, loyalty, objectivity and determination; firmly adhere to the lines and policies of the party and laws of the state; possess the necessary knowledge of state management, economic management and the specialized, professional knowledge of the inspection field; and help those being inspected build upon strengths and rectify shortcomings. Inspection cadres who abuse the authority invested in them and make incorrect decisions as a result of schemes designed to further their personal interests must be prosecuted in a fair but strict manner."

Inspection cadres must clearly understand that inspection activities are a large school in which they can forge themselves and constantly cultivate and



improve their revolutionary qualities, their knowledge and job skills. Planning and plans must be adopted to provide inspection cadres with systematic training, beginning with key leadership cadres.

5. The leadership of inspection work by the various party committee echelons is the factor of decisive significance in improving the quality and effectiveness of inspections.

Inspections can only become a useful tool of the party and administration and truly have an impact and be effective when the various party committee echelons concern themselves with providing regular leadership and the administration gives its attention to providing practical guidance and assistance. The concern of party committees with regard to leading inspections is reflected in selecting cadres who possess the necessary qualities and skills for inspection work; giving attention to building and strengthening inspection organizations; offering opinions on what the requirements and specifics of inspections should be during each period; periodically hearing reports from inspection organizations; utilizing and mobilizing related organizations to coordinate their activities with inspection organizations; examining and acting upon the matters brought to light by inspections; and making proposals and suggestions so that inspections fulfill their role well, competently support the requirements of revolutionary tasks and increase the confidence of the people in the leadership of the party and the management of the state. Of course, inspection organizations and inspection cadres must display activism and initiative, make suggestions to the leadership and make every effort to build upon strengths, overcome difficulties and shortcomings and complete the tasks assigned to them.

At present, inspection organizations and inspection cadres must concentrate on conducting inspections into the implementation of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau concerning the tasks of the 1986 socio-economic plan and prices, wages and money.

Positive inspection activities will help to bring about new changes in the country's socio-economic situation and celebrate the 6th National Congress of Delegates of the Party in a practical way.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "40 nam phat trien va truong thanh cua luc luong thanh tra"[The 40 Years of Development and Growth of Inspection Forces], published by the State Inspection Commission, Hanoi, 1985, pp 55-56.

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## THE ARMY AND ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 24-28, 106

[Article by Colonel General Bui Phung]

[Text] To establish the proper relationship between the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland, our party has adopted the strategic guideline of combining the economy with national defense within a single, nationwide structure that encompasses each area of the country and each basic unit and putting into practice the slogans: all the people work, produce and build the economy while strengthening the national defense system and defending the fatherland and all armed forces maintain combat readiness and fight while participating in production and economic construction. With the aim of meeting the new requirements of the current situation, the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee stated: "We must mobilize a large force of the army to perform economic work, the requirements of this work being to calculate economic efficiency, contribute products and generate revenues for the state budget. We must reorganize the production and raise the production efficiency of national defense enterprises in order to produce products for national defense while making appropriate use of the capacity of these enterprises and technical labor to produce consumer and export goods."

This strategic thinking correctly reflects the law of development of our country's revolution, the law that building the country must be closely tied to defending the country within the context of the country's current conditions. Under the leadership of the Political Bureau and the former Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and present day Central Military Party Committee, under the guidance of the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers and with the cooperation and assistance of state agencies and localities, the army has recorded significant achievements in the fields of production and economic construction, thereby helping to stimulate the development of the national economy and improving the living conditions of the army and the people. The products and projects produced and constructed by the army over the past 10 years have helped to gradually overcome the lack of balance within the national economy, gradually establish a strategic deployment that combines the economy with the national defense system within a number of strategic areas and maintain an army that is strong enough to fight to defend the fatherland and in a state of combat readiness. Participating in

production and economic construction is a basic, long-range task of our army. Ten years are a brief amount of time. In addition, during the past 10 years, many efforts had to be devoted to combat, consequently, the economic achievements of the army are still limited.

On the agricultural front, the front of foremost importance, the army has concentrated its efforts in a number of primary areas, such as:

--Building new economic zones in the Central Highlands, eastern Nam Bo, the Mekong Delta, the coastal region, the Red River Delta and the mountains and midlands of the North. To date, 22 relatively complete new economic zones with infrastructure facilities and projects supporting production and everyday life have been constructed. Fields have been cleared and constructed on more than 60,000 hectares. More than 1,000 kilometers of highway have been built. Dozens of water conservancy projects, machine stations and shops, small hydroelectric power stations, crop and livestock breeding stations and farms and processing plants for agricultural and forest products have been constructed. Tens of thousands of hectares of forests have been harvested, managed or repaired. Millions of trees have been planted to gradually cover barren hills with vegetation in areas where units are stationed. More than 100,000 tons of grain have been produced, thousands of hectares of "Uncle Ho fish ponds" have been established and livestock and poultry production have been increased, thus helping to meet grain and food needs locally. In particular, with their newly created material-technical bases and production capacity, the new economic zones have drawn more than 100,000 laborers and other people to expand the economy and strengthen national defense forces in a number of strategic areas.

At places where troops are stationed, forces of the army have cleared land and restored fields to production, produced grain and food products (fish, beans, peanuts, sesame, cane sugar and green vegetables), planted, picked and processed pharmaceuticals...thereby helping to make up for the materials not supplied by the state in full and maintaining a relatively stable standard of living for troops. During the past several years, the state has invested in the strong development of material-technical bases within the army to accelerate the development of grain and food production. Units throughout the army, especially units in the North, have established systems of basic production units on each echelon that are closely tied to tens of thousands of production centers based on the "VAC" model [truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry] in their subunits.

--Building large, medium and small-scale water conservancy projects in the Mekong Delta, the Red River Delta, the Central Highlands and at many other places. Forces of the army dug and spread tens of millions of cubic meters of dirt to make canals to bring in fresh water to impede the flow of salt water and leach sulfates from fields and build dikes to claim land from the sea, enough land to put tens of thousands of hectares of rice under cultivation.

In recent years, the army has participated in the construction of a number of projects within the fertilizer industry, such as the construction of the Lao Cai Apatite Mine complex, the opening of a number of mines for the extraction of phosphoric fertilizer...



On the industrial front, the key front within the national economy, the army has served as the shock force in a number of important fields. The army's greatest efforts have been focused on the fields of communications-transportation and energy because these are the infrastructure of the economy and national defense system. The army has undertaken the construction of strategic North-South and East-West roads, rail lines, highways and water routes within large industrial and agricultural zones and road networks along the border, along the seacoast and on the islands. During the past 10 years, the army has completed the capital construction work on 1,400 kilometers of national highways, 205 kilometers of railroads and 3,000 kilometers of local roads and dug 1,000 kilometers of canals, thus helping to support domestic communications and transportation as well as communications and transportation between our country and the fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia. The army has also undertaken air transportation and the building of the national aviation sector. It has transported nearly 2 million passengers and 26,000 tons of cargo. It has safely logged 3,800 hours of scheduled flying time and 3,300 hours of special flying time. It has closely combined transportation and services and used services to compensate for the cost of transportation. As a result, it has created stability in production and business and earned foreign currency for the state. Pipeline troops have transported 70 million ton-kilometers of petroleum products for the state and friendly countries. Transport troops, in addition to providing transportation to meet the large needs of the army, have also provided equipment and set aside time to transport 153 million ton-kilometers for the state and the friendly country of Laos. Artillery troops have combined their work with harvesting and transporting tens of thousands of tons of raw materials, thus making an important contribution to meeting the country's paper needs.

Energy plays an extremely important role in and has a decisive impact upon the development of large-scale, mechanized production and the modernization of the army. Since 1981, the army has been actively participating in the construction of large, medium and small-scale hydroelectric and thermoelectric power projects, such as the Pha Lai thermoelectric power project and the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power project. For the first time ever, the army has undertaken the construction of a complete hydroelectric project, the Dray Linh Hydroelectric Power Plant in the Central Highlands—the maiden project of the Vietnam power sector. At the same time, it has been and is working with the northern border provinces to build a system of small-scale hydroelectric power plants to effectively serve economic and national defense needs.

The army has also participated in the construction of the Vung Tau oil and gas project, assigned a high quality construction and assembly unit to augment the oil and gas sector and made considerable contributions to the coal sector (at Na Duong, Quang Ninh). The army currently has 20 small coal mining units and has mined 300,000 tons over the past several years.

To meet the steadily rising and very pressing capital construction needs, the army has constructed 35 building material production enterprises producing such projects as cement, tiles, bricks, lime, sand, gravel, stone, steel construction members and concrete construction members, and built hundreds of other small-scale, decentralized units. During the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, it produced 120,900 tons of low stress concrete, 1.045 billion bricks and

tiles of all types, 203,000 tons of lime, 3 million cubic meters of stone of all types and tens of thousands of tons of steel and concrete members. Through sources of building materials produced on its own, the army has built 2 million square meters of warehouses, factories and housing of various types and given itself the ability to virtually meet the target of "a tile roof on every structure" within many units of the army in the space of the next 5 years.

Building the national defense industry is an important part of socialist industrialization. It encompasses the factories of heavy industry, light industry and the food products industry. In recent years, the national defense enterprises, in addition to producing projects and providing repair services to support the national defense system, have produced hundreds of civilian and export goods for the state. Civilian goods account for nearly one-half of the value of the goods produced by national defense industries. The production of civilian goods has not only made greater use of existing production capacity, increased the supply of consumer goods and helped to meet the needs of the people, but has also enabled the formation of capital with which to develop the national defense industry. The enterprises that produce dried provisions, cooked rice, military uniforms, military gear, medicine and other consumer goods have met a large portion of the army's needs. These enterprises, which are arranged in centers within the different zones, have promptly supplied products of increasingly high quality to units and reduced transportation costs.

In recent years, the army has done a rather good job of combining the sea economy with security patrols in the offshore waters. From the standpoint of production, it has caught 40,000 tons of fish; processed 7 million liters of fish sauce; harvested and processed 236 tons of shrimp, squid, abalone and cress for exportation; repaired 115 domestic ships and 77 foreign ships, thus earning foreign currency; and built a number of material-technical bases for the sea economy and national defense.

The realities of the economic activities of the army on the agricultural, industrial and communications-transportation front in the recent past confirm that the tasks assigned by the party and state are compatible with the conditions and capabilities of the army and can develop the army's strengths. A requirement in these fields of activities is very close coordination between the economy and national defense. Many jobs demand that the army be used as a shock force, a force of activists to insure that productivity, quality and efficiency are achieved.

Guiding and organizing the army's participation in economic construction in the recent past have enabled us to better understand and resolve a number of problems concerning the relationship between military tasks and economic tasks, the use of troops in economic work and the command and management of the economic activities of troops.

Above everything else, developing and utilizing the potentials and strengths of the army on the economic construction front are of decisive significance from the standpoint of the results achieved. During the years from 1976 to 1980, this was made clear through Political Bureau Resolution 250. However,

in the implementation of this resolution, light attention was given to utilizing standing combat forces and national defense enterprises. It has only been since 1981, particularly during the past 3 years, that this shortcoming has been corrected. To develop the potentials and strengths of the army in this field well, it is important to develop appropriate forms and methods of participating in this work with a view toward achieving increasingly high results. These are: the specialized production and economic construction forces that participate in the construction of key industrial and agricultural projects of the state and army; standing combat forces, which devote a portion of their time during the year to production and economic construction at the place where they are stationed; and the enterprises of the national defense industry, which use their remaining production capacity to actively participate in the production of civilian and export goods. In particular, importance must be attached to reviewing experiences gained in production and economic construction within the army and creating production and economic management models of the army based correctly on the socialist mode of economic accounting and business. Only in this way is it possible to achieve the combined strength of these three forces throughout the army on the basis of developing the potentials and strength of each force.

The army's organization consists of young, able-bodied soldiers who are organized, disciplined, educated and able to quickly learn science and technology and a corps of cadres who have matured in organizing and commanding coordinated operations among the various services and branches. In the performance of production and economic construction tasks organized in continuous, synchronized and highly specialized production lines in the style of industrial production and in which economic leverage policies, the contract system and productivity bonuses are applied for laborers, the army, with its human and organizational factors, is capable of succeeding and has performed each economic task well, including work involving high and complex technical requirements.

Closely tying military tasks to economic tasks through production and construction activities provides the conditions to carry out both satisfactorily. On the basis of closely tying military tasks to economic tasks and successfully performing military tasks, which are the tasks of central importance, it is necessary to perform economic tasks well and use the results of economic work to directly support military tasks. Many units, as a result of successfully combining economic work with training, have achieved higher results in training. In time of war, the peace time economic military corps specializing in economic work become combat support units within a specific sector that have the necessary forces and equipment. Infantry units that closely coordinate with the locality in which they are stationed and join with it to perform good economic work will surely help to build good units and effectively work with the locality to build strong, local economic and national defense potentials. National defense enterprises produce economic goods to create capital to invest in the development of the national defense industry. Local armed forces perform economic work to establish a military budget for themselves in order to create the conditions needed to carry out

local military tasks. The units performing an international task can only create favorable conditions for performing this task well by cooperating in economic construction with our friends in a manner closely tied to our military alliance with them...

To manage production and construction in a highly effective manner, it is very important to organize the command of labor and maintain labor discipline well. The army has much experience in organizing command operations. To appropriately apply experiences in organizing military command operations in the various fields of economic management, many units have taken a direct command approach consisting of four elements: direct encouragement and education; direct assignment of tasks, norms and quotas; direct inspection, supervision and resolution of problems and difficulties; and direct evaluation of production results and direct psychological and material praise and awards. The army also has much experience in upholding military discipline in combat. To appropriately apply their experience in maintaining self-imposed, strict discipline in production and business operations, many units have applied the method of treating technical standards, codes and regulations as "orders." The realities of production management over the past several years show that the productivity, quality and efficiency of the army in productive labor have markedly increased as a result of knowing how to tap the strengths that lie in the military command organization and military discipline.

In the years ahead, our army will carry out even larger production and economic construction tasks assigned by the party and state. The practical experience gained in recent years has given the army greater self-confidence. In particular, under the light of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Party Plenums, our army will try to take a new stride forward in awareness and responsibility, in its ability to organize the performance of production and economic construction tasks.

To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to firmly adhere to the objectives of the army in its economic construction task, namely, accelerating production, participating in the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism and contributing to socialist industrialization while building the economy of the army itself so that it can meet an important portion of the pressing needs of the army and national defense system and participating in building the various strategic areas in every respect, thereby helping to rearrange our strategic economic-national defense deployment. All production and economic construction activities must be oriented toward working with the entire party and all the people to move ahead and correct the state of imbalance of the national economy and rearranging our strategic deployment to combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy within a unified structure.

To achieve the combined strength of the army on the economic construction front, it is necessary to fully adhere to the people's war line, to the line on all the people participating in national defense; thoroughly understand the views on combining the economy and national defense, practicing self-reliance, exercising collective ownership, being practical and frugal and displaying revolutionary-offensive thinking; establishing a clearly defined master plan for the army's participation in economic construction; planning the army's

participation in economic construction yearly and on a long-term basis; and further improving the various types, modes and forms of participation by the army in production and economic construction. Each of these types, modes and forms can mobilize the potentials and strengths of the army to a high degree. At the same time, it is necessary to gradually improve and combine these different types with the aim of achieving a combined strength in order to achieve high productivity, quality and economic efficiency. The matter of creating sources of capital must be given special attention in order to meet the requirements of production plans. Here, we must know how to create capital by developing, as best possible, the potentials that lie in existing labor, arable land, trades and material-technical bases, especially the potentials that lie in the organized and disciplined labor of the army, and must work closely with the localities. When performing economic work, the units specializing in production and economic construction and national defense enterprises must practice economic accounting and completely eliminate the use of subsidies. When combat units perform economic work, their economic work must be carefully planned so that they achieve increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency in production. At first, economic accounting should be applied to provide practical training in order to gradually achieve full-scale economic accounting. With regard to distribution, it is necessary to apply economic levers, fully comply with the regulations of the state and carry out distribution in a uniform and specific manner throughout the army in accordance with the principle that units performing economic work receive economic returns and must fulfill their obligations to the upper echelon, to the army and the state while establishing good relations with the levels and sectors outside the army in order to achieve coordination, synchronize efforts and stimulate one another's development. To perform the above jobs well, it is necessary to have cadres. All army cadres must be politically solid and proficient in military skills. At the same time, they must be skilled in economic work. Not knowing how to perform economic work is a major shortcoming that must be quickly corrected. The corps of military cadres must receive training in economics and economic management so that they are able to participate in economic activities better with each passing day.

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## SOME MATTERS OF PRESSING IMPORTANCE IN THE SOCIALIST PATRIOTIC EMULATION MOVEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 29-34

[Article by Nguyen Tho Chan]

[Text] The socialist patriotic emulation movement initiated by President Ho in June 1948 has been widely responded to by the compatriots of the entire country and become a fine tradition. Launching and organizing emulation movements among the masses are a special characteristic of the revolutionary method of our party, of the closeness between the party and the people. When he was alive, President Ho devotedly guided and cultivated the movement and constantly encouraged good persons and good work. His simple and highly convincing appeals for emulation are still vivid in the memories of our people. In the space of less than 40 years, the emulation movement has mobilized the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country to kill the enemy and record feats of arms, increase production and practice frugality, thereby successfully implementing the major positions of our party and state. We fought the French, drove off the Americans, killed the puppets and have begun to defeat the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. We have reunified the country and carried out agrarian reform, agricultural collectivization and the transformation of industry and commerce as well as the construction of water conservancy projects. We have developed new varieties of crops, accelerated the application of technical advances, introduced intensive cultivation to raise crop yields, expanded industry and communications-transportation, developed the public health sector, the cultural sector, science, education, etc.

Our workers set up factories in the mountainous forests during the years of resistance against France. They persevered and organized production during the evacuation in the years of the resistance against the United States. They waged a determined struggle for the welfare of the people and democracy within the areas occupied by the enemy. They fought to protect equipment and property when the enemy was about to flee and, when the country was liberated, they restored the installations previously attacked by the enemy and stabilized production. Today, enduring countless difficulties and shortages and through diligent and creative labor, they are steadily advancing down the path of socialist industrialization.



Throughout the years spent plowing and cultivating their fields under the falling bombs and shells, our farmers always provided "jars of rice to feed the armed forces." Even during the war, farmers established fields producing yields of 5 tons per hectare. They worked night and day building water conservancy projects, building fields and applying new techniques. Today, they are creating high yield fields, implementing product contracts and revamping management.

Artisans and handicraftsmen, who produce an important percentage of consumer and export goods, have created many sophisticated products that reflect a tradition of manual skills. Many small industry and handicraft units have developed into truly collective industrial enterprises.

Our intellectual circles have recorded important creative accomplishments despite shortages of equipment.

The entire world knows how skillfully, resourcefully and bravely our troops and public security forces have fought.

Our youths have proven themselves worthy of their predecessors. No site of danger, no difficult job has been without the presence of youths. Students, even in the flames of war, when the enemy threatened to push our country back to the stone age, continued to win high awards in international competitions, thus winning the admiration of friends and giving the enemy no opportunity to view them with disdain.

Our women have performed countless exceedingly difficult tasks, tasks that one would think could only be accomplished by "giants." The Ben Tre Long-haired Military Unit led the coordinated uprisings at a time when the situation seemed bleak. In the war, when women were the primary labor force in the rural areas of the North, fields producing yields of 5 tons per hectare emerged for the first time. Today, the corps of talented women is steadily growing.

Our elders have been unflagging in their efforts. Although more than 80 years of age, some, such as Hoang Van Oang, Nguyen Van Huong and Nguyen Si Lam, have been awarded the title "Labor Hero" and been worthy of being praised by President Ho as "robust and productive elderly persons."

The socialist patriotic emulation movement has become a part of the mainstream of life--implementing the norms of the state plan and performing important economic, social and national defense tasks has increasingly become a part of the research and application of science and technology, the rationalization of organization, economic accounting and the strict inspection of the results of labor and the distribution of income. The forms of emulation are also diverse: signing pledges and contracts; holding fairs and exhibits; skill training and testing; endeavoring to earn emulation titles; working to improve one section or unit so that not one person is weak or deficient, so that one's unit is not a weak or deficient collective, etc.

The evaluation of the results of emulation and the honors awarded for emulation have made the various leadership levels of the party and

administration increasingly interested in organizing and guiding the emulation movement. The executive committees of the mass organizations have steadily become more aware of their function of educating and encouraging the masses to engage in emulation... Wherever this approach has been taken, the movement has developed and produced good results.

Together with the state revamping the management mechanism and dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, the implementation of the principles of public reporting and the comparison of emulation results and the inspection of the results of the implementation of emulation programs and goals have also begun to do away with empty appeals for emulation; are gradually eliminating praise and awards that are general in nature and the practice of the head of a unit deciding all praise and awards on the basis of subjective observations; are making it less common for cadres to voice groundless arguments and are reducing the number of cases in which achievements are falsely reported or exaggerated. There have been times when the upper level has not awarded banners for being leaders in emulation because units have seriously violated the principles and ethics of labor.

Many places have promptly discovered and reviewed advanced model units, organized other units in following their example and correctly evaluated and chosen national emulation heroes and warriors.

On the basis of emulation results, many places have evaluated and rated the party organization, administration and mass organizations and correctly selected, trained and promoted cadres.

Advances have been made in the emulation movement over the past several years but there are still problems which are impeding its development and limiting its successes. Here, we shall only address a number of pressing problems that need to be resolved in order to advance the movement with a view toward carrying out the revolutionary tasks to be set by the upcoming 6th Congress of the Party.

What are these problems?

First, President Ho once said: "There are still many places at which the people, most importantly cadres, do not have a truly clear understanding of the importance of the patriotic emulation movement. They mistakenly think that emulation is something different from their everyday work. In truth, everyday work is the basis of emulation... They mistakenly think that emulation is only something temporary. In truth, emulation must be continuous." (1)

This situation that President Ho pointed out still exists today. While our tasks are new, the same old mistakes are being made. Here, we are not comparing the seriousness of present mistakes to the seriousness of mistakes made in the past. All we know is that everywhere you go, in every field, even within advanced units, there is much that has been done but there are still things that should, must and can be done, that is, there are some persons and collectives who engage in emulation but also some who do not. Many comrades who hold positions of importance think that, in view of their qualifications,

they possess a thorough understanding of what emulation is. Actually, however, their understanding of emulation is incomplete or superficial, sometimes even wrong. And, the experience of life shows that understanding something half-way is worse than not understanding it at all. There are still more than a few comrades who give the excuse of being too busy with their work to have time to give their attention to emulation. Yet, they become dissatisfied when they slave away and are still unable to complete their task well and wind up blaming the party and state for assigning them a task that is too large instead of taking the time to see what other places with similar conditions have done in order to complete their task well. At some places, key leaders are interested in emulation but have not succeeded in making the entire collective interested in joining them, as a result of which there is only zeal at these places at a time when other comrades are speaking and taking action, which makes the masses discouraged and impedes the development of the movement. There are still places that launch emulation drives which are drives in name only. They provide no specific organization or guidance, do not take economic or technical measures, do not conduct thorough inspections and leave everything up to the mass organizations. As a result, both the mass organizations and emulation cadres have their hands tied. There are still members of emulation councils who, although they represent their organization, conduct no specific activities and have hardly any idea of what their responsibility is but who have no shortage of criticism of others. There are still comrades who are always complaining that the emulation movement is weak and marked by shortcomings and who "issue directives" but have yet to engage in any emulation themselves and have made more than a few mistakes. Such "revolutionaries in word only" can be encountered in every stage of the revolution, especially at times of difficulty. They only serve to create additional complications for the movement.

Experience shows that those places which achieve high results in their work and complete their tasks well are places that steadfastly organize and build revolutionary movements of the masses, places that consider emulation to be a way for the masses to truly exercise ownership through revolutionary actions.

Secondly, also because they do not clearly understand the importance of emulation, more than a few places take a form for form's sake approach to emulation. They do not see that emulation is one of the primary methods used to organize and mobilize the broad masses to perform revolutionary tasks. They do not see that "even the most difficult jobs can be completed with the support of the people." As a result, they are not interested in the themes, goals or forms of emulation nor in taking organizational, economic, technical, educational and motivational measures with the aim of achieving practical results. There are also comrades who, because they have been far removed from the masses for many years, have lost confidence in and are skeptical of the results of emulation.

Actually, guiding emulation is a complicated job. It demands thorough preparations, democratic discussion, thorough explanations, a rational organization and strict inspections. Measures must be taken and determination must be maintained before, during and after an emulation drive. We must

realize: "Measures are 10 times more important and determination 20 times more important than the plan itself." Only in this way can we become the masters of the emulation movement.

The forms of emulation are very diverse. Giving marks and recording scores; awarding large scholarships to excellent students who are poor; setting production quotas, inspecting production results and paying piecework wages; organizing skill training and testing; promoting workers on the basis of productivity and quality; signing pledges, conducting inspections and rating results; organizing fairs and exhibits, awarding medals and certificates of commendation, publicly announcing products and projects that are of high quality and so forth, all are forms of emulation that include praise and awards.

The thinking that we cannot engage in emulation because we face material shortages and because the management mechanism is not complete is incorrect. In fact, under such circumstances, emulation must be promoted even more. The thinking that because emulation is a mass movement, the masses should do everything on their own is also incorrect. This is the dangerous thinking of spontaneity, because we all know that leadership by the party is required in order for every revolutionary movement to achieve success.

Thirdly, the spontaneity mentioned above stems partly from not having a correct understanding of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages," from not understanding that the people exercise ownership through the state, through the representatives elected by them to manage the country. Therefore, state cadres must be persons who truly represent the interests of the people, who respect their right of ownership and fulfill the duties entrusted to them by the people. The same applies in emulation. The head of the administration as well as the various mass organizations have the responsibility of supporting the emulation movement of the masses. The head of the administration has the heaviest responsibility and cannot leave everything up to the mass organizations. The mass organizations must be the solid foundation of an emulation movement. President Ho once voiced the following criticism: "Many comrades in charge of sectors and localities have not given appropriate attention to guiding and organizing emulation." (2) And, he always maintained that the task of the party, the government and the Front in building a strong emulation movement is to promote the emulation movement even more. The administration and mass organizations must closely coordinate in organizing and guiding emulating under the leadership and inspection of the various party committee echelons. The administration must set targets and create the conditions for the masses to endeavor to meet these targets. It must inspect results, offer timely, accurate praise and awards, review advanced experiences, codify these experiences, organize other places in applying these experiences and encourage and cultivate new, positive factors. The mass organizations must educate the masses in politics and, through propaganda, teach them the significance and goals of emulation. The mass organizations must assist the head of the administration in conducting inspections to determine where praise and awards are due, conducting reviews, organizing the application of advanced experiences, encouraging innovations and technological advances and proposing ways to encourage persons who have contributions to make. The various party



committee echelons, in addition to approving the themes and targets of the movement as well as the major measures employed to intensify it, must also encourage party members to set a good example in their work, actively engage in emulation, inspect the efforts of the administration and mass organizations and correct any mistakes they might make. On the basis of the results of emulation, it is necessary to develop and strengthen the organization of the party and the mass organizations and select cadres. Wherever the organization of the party, the administration and the mass organizations properly fulfill their functions, the movement develops strongly. But there are still cadres who are indifferent toward the revolutionary movements of the masses, who are present at all festivals and banquets but who find an excuse not to take part in emulation campaigns. Our mass movements are not strong and many resolutions of the party are not thoroughly implemented partially because of this situation.

Fourthly, some places do not adhere to the goals of an emulation drive or set too many requirements for an emulation drive, requirements that are not consistent with the capabilities and efforts of the masses. Secondary, non-essential requirements, requirements that can easily be met sometimes take precedence over the key requirements of producing and practicing frugality. President Ho advised: plans must be compatible with circumstances, well suited to the locality and coordinated. To achieve the requirements of producing and practicing frugality, measures must be taken to encourage and provide incentive for innovations, for technological improvements, for organizing labor well, for correcting weaknesses. In every job, we must recognize these needs, solve necessary problems, set deadlines for the completion of work and define who it is that bears responsibility. These are the most important things that must be done. In his work "How To Organize Emulation," Lenin stressed the question of organization and the question of inventory and control. Without clearly addressing these questions, we cannot be said to be organizing emulation. In our country, deficiencies in organization, inspection and prosecution have resulted in the effort to implement some correct resolutions not meeting requirements or even ending in failure. Chiefly because we have not taken inventory of or controlled the results of labor and income, distribution and awards and penalties are not fair. This has created opportunities for undesirable elements to engage in wrongdoing, thus discouraging active persons, and has blurred the distinction between right and wrong. Therefore, the main theme of emulation must be to complete the norms of the state plan. If a particular norm poses a problem, the rate of growth compared to previous years can be used to evaluate emulation efforts.

Fifthly, in order for comparisons and for awards and penalties to be fair, the formulation and assignment of plan norms must be carefully calculated, must be consistent with the potentials of the locality, basic unit or the job grade of the individual. The setting of plan norms has a direct influence upon emulation. If these norms are too high, they cannot be met. If they are too low, they can be easily met without effort. Both of these approaches give rise to negative phenomena and lead to unfairness in praise and awards for emulation. Statistical and planning work must bring to light surplus equipment capacity, sources of materials, labor, capital and technology and potentials for raising productivity, raising output, reducing expenses,

improving quality and reducing production costs. On this basis, plan norms that are positive and stable must be set.

In the process of implementing their plan, all concerned basic production and business units must sign contracts, which are executed under the supervision and strict prosecution, when necessary, of the State Economic Arbitration Council and the agency on the upper level. This is also a very important requirement. Signing and executing contracts with appended awards and penalties is a form of economic tie, a form of emulation that results in the norms of the state plan being implemented and builds the enthusiasm of cadres and the mass of laborers.

More than a few persons who are in positions of responsibility act as though they do not realize this need and some persons, who are usually found in business organizations on the upper level, refuse or hesitate to sign contracts or take it upon themselves to cancel obligatory contracts assigned by the state.

Sixthly, within the emulation movement there have emerged more than a few progressive persons and collectives who think correctly, have charted a clear course, have taken bold steps to change and improve their method of operation, do their best to make innovations and technological improvements, humbly learn from others, cooperate well with friends, attach importance to honor and common interests and fulfill their obligations well. Their circumstances are no better than those of other persons and some face even greater difficulties. However, they have overcome their difficulties and moved forward by displaying a high spirit of initiative and dynamism. If each and every person, each and every collective were to work in the good way that they do, the country would quickly become prosperous and strong, the people would be well fed, well clothed and happy.

Consequently, one matter to which full importance must be attached is reviewing the experiences of advance model units, widely publicizing their experience, organizing others in applying their experience and engaging in emulation to catch up to and surpass these advanced model units. In this area, the army and agricultural cooperatives have done better than all other sectors but their efforts are still not truly consistent. There are still many places that have not conducted inspections to determine why the results of work and production differ under similar conditions. The experience of advanced model units is a precious asset of the entire country. To not review this experience, to not organize others in applying this experience are to waste this asset.

Seventhly, emulation is a management method, a method of agitating the masses to make revolution. With emulation, the laboring masses are more inspired and enthusiastic. Without emulation, it is impossible to mobilize the strength of the masses, easy work becomes difficult and work that can be completed quickly drags on. Emulation is to unite in struggle for the common cause but to do so in a way that enables comparisons to be made, comparisons through which criticism and self-criticism are stimulated and man is educated and transformed. Only through emulation is it possible to clearly see whether something is progressive or backward, dynamic or in a state of inertia. With



good emulation, work is accomplished and we have the support of persons, have organization, have a movement.

On the basis of the results of emulation following a given process, we can select, train and promptly replace or promote cadres and strengthen the organization of the party, the administration and mass organizations. An organization is only vibrant and strong when it has been tempered and developed within the emulation movement of the masses. Many places have not linked their cadre organizational work to revolutionary emulation movements of the masses. As a result, their evaluations of cadres are not truly correct and their apparatus includes more than a few persons who do just enough to get by while there is a shortage of dynamic, responsive persons who truly do their work well.

Understanding what emulation is, keeping abreast of and stimulating the movement and resolving the pressing problems that arise, these are effective ways to record outstanding achievements in celebration of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Let us make emulation a surging tide, a true festival of the masses.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Thi dua yeu nuoc,"[Patriotic Emulation], republished by the Emulation Department of the Party Central Committee, 1982, p 17.
2. Ibid., p 54.

7809

CSO: 4210/11

## INSURING THE FINANCIAL AUTONOMY OF STATE-OPERATED ENTERPRISES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 35-40

[Article by Chu Tam Thuc]

[Text] Recently, with the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee, many points in the enterprise management mechanism have been amended or revised, which has begun to have a good effect upon production and business by encouraging units to actively develop potentials, calculate production-business plans more carefully and resolve many problems. However, the recent amendments and revisions to the enterprise management mechanism have failed to meet the requirement of increasing the financial autonomy of the enterprise. Many policies are not rational or consistent with our country's situation and conditions. In the final analysis, the largest weakness in the financial management mechanism of state-operated enterprises continues to be the many manifestations of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies.

Correctly establishing the financial autonomy of the enterprise in the current stage is a matter of extremely important significance in creating the conditions for bringing about new, fundamental changes in economic management, tapping the dynamism and creativity of the enterprise and achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency. For this reason, the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee stated: "It is necessary to establish the financial autonomy of production-business units and allow them to display greater initiative and creativity and to allow the localities to display greater initiative under the unified, centralized management of the central level and in a manner that closely ties obligations to interests, responsibilities to authority within each sector, on each level and at each basic unit."

### I. The Principles and Conditions Guaranteeing the Financial Autonomy of the Enterprise

Guaranteeing the financial autonomy of the enterprises means defining the authority, responsibility and obligations of the enterprise in a way that makes it possible for the enterprise to display its dynamism and creativity in the production-business process. It also means implementing the principle of democratic centralism. The necessity for centralized economic leadership

under the socialist system is due to the existence of socialist public ownership of the means of production. This system of ownership unifies the economy on a nationwide scale and in a manner consistent with the social nature of the production process. The law of the planned development of the national economy under the socialist system demands that the development of all social production sectors be under unified leadership based on a plan with a view toward insuring balance among the various components of the economy. Maintaining constant balance within the national economy is impossible without a unified national economic plan of the state, without turning "the entire state economic apparatus into one large machine, into an economic structure which operates in such a way that hundreds of millions of persons are guided by a single plan."(1) Socialist business reflects none of the spontaneity and anarchy inherent in capitalism. Under socialism, each economic activity is under the impact of objective economic laws. At the same time, the socialist state consciously applies these economic laws in the realities of economic construction. In contrast to bureaucratic centralism, democratic centralism gains the widespread participation of the working people in the building of the country and creates the conditions for tapping their initiative and creativity. Under socialism, the strengthening of centralized leadership in economic management demands that we simultaneously take steps to improve the system of socialist democracy in order to gain the increasingly widespread participation of large numbers of the people in the management of the state and uphold the role of the basic units and economic organizations in economic construction. Lenin said: "Socialism is not the product of decrees handed down from above. Administrative routine and bureaucracy are incompatible with the spirit of socialism. Living, creative socialism is the undertaking of the masses themselves."(2)

In our country at this time, many difficulties are being experienced in production, production is imbalanced, management is still characterized by bureaucratic centralism and everything must await the approval of the upper level. This has led to delays, thwarted initiative and harmed production. Giving the enterprise financial autonomy has the effect of causing the enterprise to fully concern itself with its operations, carefully calculate economic efficiency, achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency and stop relying upon the upper level and not having any responsibilities.

Insuring financial autonomy means making the requirement of developing, to a high degree, the spirit of collective ownership of the laboring people by implementing the principle: the party leads, the laboring people exercise collective ownership, the state manages. In view of the complex and difficult circumstances we face today, it is only by developing the spirit of collective ownership of the masses that we can tap the full measure of our intellect and creativity and achieve the strength needed to resolve difficulties. Vigorously developing the practice of democracy also creates the conditions for achieving a high degree of centralism. Only by combining democracy and centralism well can we make it possible to correctly combine the centralized leadership of the state with the vigorous display of activism and creativity by the masses.

Insuring the financial autonomy of the enterprise does not mean departing from centralized, unified state management. Autonomy does not mean operations that

are spontaneous and haphazard in nature. Tendencies and practices that reflect a desire to remove the operations of the enterprise far from the scope of state guidance; a desire to be allowed to operate as one pleases; a desire not to be bound by reasonable regulations, standards and quotas; a desire not to be inspected or controlled; a desire to only look after the interests of one's enterprise or locality without fully recognizing the interests of the entire country and so forth are alien to the character of socialism and incompatible with the nature of enterprise financial autonomy under our system.

The financial autonomy of the enterprise must be established in such a way that increasingly high economic efficiency is achieved in production and business, as much capital as possible is accumulated and the distribution of accumulated capital is as reasonable as possible and simultaneously meets the requirements of the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland. The purposes of insuring the financial autonomy of enterprises are to stimulate the development of production and achieve high economic efficiency at each basic unit and throughout the national economy. In view of the fact that state-operated enterprises are not accumulating much capital, if careful calculations are not made, if all requirements are not foreseen, both immediate and long range, it is very easy to fall into a situation in which capital is decentralized and we consume all that we produce. The financial autonomy of the enterprise must be based on satisfying all three interests: the interests of the state, the interests of the enterprise's collective and the interests of the individual laborer, the highest of which are the interests of the state. At the same time, a correct relationship must be established between agglomeration and centralization, between the central level and the locality. A reasonable distribution policy must apply to these interests and relationships, a policy that is well suited to each specific period and set of circumstances and has the aim of achieving our highest objective: high productivity, quality and efficiency. The state establishes the relationship and distribution between capital formation and consumption on the basis of the productivity, quality and economic efficiency achieved and the actual output of products and goods (means of production and means of consumption). Consumption must be based on the wealth produced, not on aid or loans, on competing in procurement and sales, on pushing up prices and creating price differentials in order to increase the income of one's enterprise or locality. Facts have shown that taking these approaches only creates an overall imbalance, disrupts planning, serves the interests of speculators, black marketers and dishonest merchants, helps them to disrupt the market and disrupt prices, makes it impossible for the state to control goods and money and results in an increasingly large shortfall in state budget revenues due to revenues being squandered, leaked and decentralized at basic units and within the various sectors and levels.

To guarantee the financial autonomy of the enterprise, it is first necessary to quickly establish the following conditions:

+ The production plan of the enterprise must be balanced in the areas of primary importance. For example, there must be balance between the production plan and the plan for the supplying of primary raw materials, fuels, building materials, machines and equipment; between the production plan and the labor

and capital plans; between production and consumption; between exports and imports, etc.

+ Prices must be reasonable and must, generally speaking, compensate for costs and provide for capital formation.

+ A system of economic-technical quotas must be established that is scientifically based.

+ Accounting, especially bookkeeping, must be honest.

+ The functions and tasks of the ministries, sectors and localities must be re-examined and a clear distinction must be made between the administrative-economic management function of state agencies and the production-business management function of enterprises.

## II. The Main Factors Involved in Insuring the Financial Autonomy of State-operated Enterprises

On the basis of the principles and conditions stated above and in order to insure financial autonomy, enterprise financial policies must quickly be amended or revamped.

### a) Financial planning and the system of legally binding norms.

The financial plan must truly be formulated from the basic level upward and be balanced with the other plans, especially the supply and marketing plans. Every effort must be made to correct the practice of assigning a plan but not providing the necessary supplies and the practice of forcing the enterprise to produce certain products but not adopting a plan to market these products for the enterprise. The financial and other plans of the enterprise must be formulated first on the basis of signed contracts that extend up until the middle of the year preceding the year governed by the plan and should not be based at all on norms that provide for the distribution of supplies on paper only.

The management agency on the upper level assigns to the enterprise an appropriate number of legally binding norms (depending upon the type of enterprise) which are based on the nature and level of development of production and the technical conditions of each sector and on the products and supply capabilities of the state primarily for the purpose of defining the requirements of society concerning the final results of the enterprise's production and business from the standpoint of product output and value.

In the case of basic production units, the management agency on the level immediately above the enterprise assigns to the enterprise one two three of the following legally binding norms depending upon the specific production and business situation of each type enterprise and each product:

1. The value of product output realized (including the value of exports, if any).

2. The output of primary products meeting the specifications and qualitative standards for marketing in accordance with the plan and contracts (including figures on the percentage of output allocated for national defense and exportation, if any).

3. Payments to the state budget (profits and other revenue accounts).

The production-business situation in our country is still changing. Under such circumstances, establishing a legally binding norm governing production costs will tie the hands of enterprises and, in many cases, lead to accounting that lacks integrity as a result of production costs being shifted from one product to another. To provide strong stimulus for reducing production costs, a policy must be enacted that boldly provides incentive for technical innovations and improvements and economizing on materials compared to the consumption ceilings approved by the authorized upper level. Although the state does not assign a legally binding norm governing production costs, production costs are a directed norm of the management agency on the level immediately above the enterprise and are subject to state inspection and control. In the case of products that provide for the formation of a large amount of capital or products that still require compensation for losses in accordance with policy, production costs are approved by the state when it sets enterprise wholesale prices. The enterprise must endeavor to lower its expenses in order to reduce production costs. It must consider reducing production costs to be the important task and target in increasing its profits and raising its production-business efficiency.

b) The various types of production capital:

Policies must be adopted that encourage and make it possible for enterprises to carry out capital formation on their own with a view toward increasing the amount of capital acquired by the enterprise itself. Positive steps must be taken to create the conditions for using credit for all liquid capital needs and the majority of the funds needed for investment in capital construction. Investments in intensive development expansion must be made by the enterprise using its own capital.

In principle, the enterprise is allowed to retain all or part of the funds accruing from capital depreciation for use in making investments, upgrading its technology and expanding its production-business, depending upon the condition of each enterprise.

Every enterprise must be given broader authority to write off, buy and sell fixed assets. If the enterprise does not receive a reply from the upper level within a specified amount of time, it should be allowed to act in accordance with the plan it originally proposed.

Payment for the use of production capital should be introduced at places that have the necessary conditions, such as having established relatively complete ceilings on the use of machinery, equipment, supplies and raw materials and having determined the prices that may be charged, the aim of which is to stimulate and encourage the full use of machine and equipment capacity.



When an enterprise is first established and goes into production, its initial liquid capital is allotted by the state. We must discontinue the practice of annually reviewing and approving the liquid capital ceiling and supplemental capital budget for operating enterprises. During the plan year, the enterprise should be allowed to use a portion of the profits left at the enterprise to supplement its liquid capital through the production development incentive fund. If, in addition to the capital initially allotted from the budget and the other sources of capital created by the enterprise itself, the enterprise still lacks capital, it should be allowed to borrow capital from the bank.

c) The distribution of accumulated money and the establishment and use of the various funds:

The distribution of accumulated money is carried out by the state in the form of appropriate taxes. The enterprise has the obligation of making payments to the state budget in full and on time. The balance is left at the enterprise by the state to be used by the enterprise to establish the various enterprise funds (the production and business development incentive fund, the welfare fund and the award and bonus fund). The purpose, nature and size of these funds must be established on the basis of insuring that the enterprise is able to form capital for the intensive development of production and business, able to implement socio-economic and living standard plans and able to provide material incentives to the worker. Whether these funds are large or small depends upon the production and business returns achieved by the enterprise on the basis of raising labor productivity, reducing production costs and accelerating the turnover of capital and depends upon the extent to which the norms of the state plan are completed. There is no maximum limit on the size of the welfare fund or the award and bonus fund of the enterprise. The state regulates these funds by means of a receivable account based on a progressive rate when these funds exceed a certain limit (the regulation of these two funds will be discontinued when the state begins taxing the income of the worker).

Enterprises which are permitted by the state to directly operate an export-import business must correctly comply with the regulations of the state and of the functional agencies concerning their products, exchange rates and prices, the management of foreign currency and so forth. Enterprise may open foreign currency deposit accounts at the Foreign Trade Bank and have the authority to use foreign currency to import materials and equipment to support their production and business.

In the case of enterprises that produce export goods but do not have direct relations with the export-import market, the payment for goods delivered to the export-import organization will still be made in Vietnamese currency. However, the enterprise has the authority to use foreign currency (either as a result of having the right to use foreign currency or being remitted foreign currency for the goods exported over and above the plans) and the materials necessary to produce export goods.

Enterprises that have the authority to use foreign currency may also transfer this authority to other economic units in accordance with state regulations.

A mandatory exchange policy applies to a portion of the foreign currency revenues earned by the enterprise through the export-import business. The balance of foreign currency revenues remains under the control of the enterprise to be used to support the export-import business and the production of the enterprise.

Enterprises that have a foreign currency fund must also have a foreign currency revenue and expenditure plan and must fulfill their obligation to pay export-import taxes to the state.

d) Accounting:

The enterprise is responsible for implementing accounting and reporting policies. At the same time, it is subject to control and inspection in accordance with state regulations. It must improve its accounting operations, the most important aspect of which is bookkeeping, with the aim of achieving the following objectives: supplying accurate information to enable analysis and evaluation of economic returns, inspection of the implementation of the plan and the formulation of the plan for the coming period; providing timely and accurate information and data on the situation for use in the management of production and business; and enabling payments and the settlement of accounts to be made and carried out well.

The state must soon promulgate unified, nationwide regulations on bookkeeping and statistics, regulations that are consistent with the new management mechanism, and promulgate head bookkeeper statutes.

In addition, the Ministry of Finance must conduct research to amend or revise the descriptions of some bookkeeping positions to bring them in line with the new changes in economic and financial management procedures. It must work with the Statistics General Department to amend or revise the procedures for keeping initial records and the bookkeeping and statistical reporting procedures of the enterprise; establish bookkeeping procedures for fixed capital and liquid capital, for the various types of enterprise capital and funds, for joint businesses and economic ties, for foreign currency revenues and expenditures in the export-import business and for wages, bonuses and the other income accounts of the enterprise; and establish procedures for evaluating and approving the settlement of accounts by enterprises and basic units, general bookkeeping reporting procedures and annual settlement of account forms of the ministries, general departments and concerned agencies on the upper level.

It is necessary to intensify the inspection of bookkeeping discipline at enterprises and basic economic units to insure open financial procedures and the integrity of books and bookkeeping records and to restore and maintain enterprise internal economic accounting and the analysis of economic activities at the enterprise and production shops, sections and units.

Insuring the financial autonomy of the enterprise, in particular, and insuring the production and business independence of the enterprise, in general, on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of the plan being the center of operations and on the basis of economic accounting and

socialist business practices are a requirement in and of themselves, are an internal requirement of the production and business operations of the enterprise, of socialist commodity production. Importance must be attached to making proper use of the economic levers of prices, wages, bonuses, profits, financing, credit and so forth. The fact that the enterprise has the authority to create capital, augment its capital, accelerate the turnover of its capital and carry out expanded reproduction, the fact that it is truly responsible for the results of its production and business, for its profits and losses and the fact that it satisfies all three interests, the highest being the interests of the state, unleash the moving forces of collective ownership within each member of the enterprise and make everyone interested in practicing frugality, raising labor productivity, reducing production costs and improving the quality of products.

Resolving the problems related to economic management in a correct and well coordinated manner and under the close, unified guidance of the state will surely have a positive impact upon our country's entire socio-economic system and build a new momentum of highly efficient development in the implementation of the state plan for 1986 and subsequent years.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 8.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, p 64.

7809

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## THE MARXIST-LENINIST WORLD VIEW IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 41-47

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] More than 60 years ago, in the early years of the 20th century, Vietnam's society was a backward, colonial and feudal society in which thinking based on Confucian teachings and concepts was widespread. The oppression and exploitation carried out by the colonialists and feudalists, including their systematic poisoning of the people, did not paralyze the consciousness of the Vietnamese, but the continuous and very brave national salvation movements that occurred, from the Can Vuong movement to the movement of Hoang Hoa Tham, from Phan Boi Chau's movement to the movement of Phan Chu Trinh, were defeated one after the other due to the lack of a correct line on how to save the country. Times had changed. The principle enemy was now Western capitalism, not the foreign feudal powers of ancient times. Therefore, the country could not be saved by following the line or the example of our forefathers in their fight against the Chinese aggressors. Nor could we liberate the country from slavery by taking the path of capitalist development, by following the example of modern Japan. Ardent patriotism and bravery abounded and no one ever minded the sacrifices that had to be made. Yet, as Phan Boi Chau said: we experienced "100 defeats but not one success." This was because our thinking was still confined within the framework of the feudal and bourgeois world views. There was no correct view on the current situation. As a result, we did not have a correct national salvation line, one consistent with the laws of development of history.

Vietnam's national salvation movement during those years urgently demanded a new line based on a new ideology capable of advancing the cause of national liberation to victory. President Ho Chi Minh accepted this great, historic mission. After spending 10 years travelling throughout the world, training himself and conducting research and revolutionary activities, he discovered this new line, this new ideology, and introduced it within Vietnam's national salvation movement. This new line was the national liberation line of the proletarian revolution. This new ideology was Marxist-Leninist ideology.

President Ho was quick to point out that Marxism-Leninism is like the intellect of a person, like the compass of a ship. Marxism-Leninism must be the backbone of a revolutionary party in order for it to become the backbone of society's spiritual life.

The work of changing the ideology and rebuilding the spiritual life of Vietnam's society in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist world view began in the 1920's. It began with LE PARIA Newspaper, which President Ho founded and sent to Vietnam; with newspaper articles that bitterly denounced colonialism, especially President Ho's "French Colonialization on Trial"; with the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN and President Ho's work "The Revolutionary Road," which played the same role as ISKRA Newspaper and the work "What Is To Be Done" did in the Russian Revolution; with the Vietnamese Association of Revolutionary Youth organized by President Ho and the "proletarianization" movement of the youths of Tonkin; with the outstanding students of President Ho when they returned home from studying in soviet Russia...

Marxism-Leninism arrived in Vietnam through independent, free thinking that was closely associated with socialism: carrying out a revolution to topple the imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists, liberate the nation and then advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. This is the thinking of continuous revolution. It is the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class perfectly combined with the long-standing patriotic and democratic tradition of the nation of Vietnam. It is the revolutionary trend of our times and conforms with the necessary laws of development of mankind.

The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism was brought to Vietnam by President Ho in an "abbreviated, easily understood, easily remembered" fashion, in a way that was "very convenient, was as quick and easy to learn as two times two equals four, without any embellishment whatsoever" ("The Revolutionary Road"). The profound thoughts of President Ho were most often expressed in a very concise, simple and quiet way, even in specific policies, plans and measures. This modern and unique style of his caused the theory on a new line and revolutionary method based on Marxist-Leninist ideology to quickly permeate the masses and have the effect of guiding Vietnam's revolutionary movement. The people of Vietnam, whose spirit of patriotism and hatred of the enemy were intense, who despised the West and who looked to communism and soviet Russia, quickly came to understand: "To live, we must make revolution"; revolution must be thorough; "once begun, a revolution must be carried out to its conclusion..."; "in revolution, we must be self-reliant"; the main forces of revolution are workers and peasants, the factor determining victory in the revolution is the correct leadership of the communist party, etc.

The founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam on 3 February 1930 and the Political Platform and Summary Tactics drafted by President Ho laid the foundation for the entire revolutionary line of the party up until the present day and marked the first victory of the Marxist-Leninist world view in Vietnam. Casting aside the feudal world view and becoming part of the spiritual life of Vietnam's society by being combined with Vietnam's worker movement and patriotic movement, the Marxist-Leninist world view established



the leadership of the Vietnamese working class and the communist party of Vietnam.

Together with the strong development of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the flames of revolution, the Marxist-Leninist world view has increasingly shed light on and won victory not only in the field of politics-philosophy, where it has been used to analyze social antagonism and establish our revolutionary strategy, tactics and method, but also in many other fields of Vietnam's social life. The ideological struggle over which line the revolution should follow that took place between communists and nationalist revolutionaries within the imperialist prisons merely provided further proof of the correctness and the persuasive force of the views and line of the CPV. The reactionary theories of the Trotskyites and the anti-party provocateurs (the A.B. group) had no room to develop. The "idealism and materialism" debate and the "art for art's sake or art for man's sake" debate in the public press exposed the true nature of the lackeys of the imperialists, criticized reactionary, bourgeois views on politics, philosophy, literature and art and spread the views of Marxism-Leninism on philosophy, literature and art. At the same time, within the party, "leftist" deviations, such as factionalism and narrowmindedness, and rightist deviations, such as the malady of always abiding by the law, being enthralled by partial victories, cooperating in a manner devoid of principles with the Trotskyites, attempting to win the support of the bourgeoisie and landowners while giving light attention to the revolutionary forces of workers and peasants, to the alliance of workers and peasants and so forth, were harshly criticized. Clandestine revolutionary books and newspapers and the revolutionary poetry of communist militants effectively propagandized the views of Marxism-Leninism and the line and policies of the party and were sought after and acclaimed by the broad masses. The "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" (1943) expressed the views of Marxism-Leninism on culture as applied under the circumstances of Vietnam. Based on a scientific world view and the methodology of the material dialectic, the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" mapped out the course of the revolution to liberate the intellect and culture as part of the nation's common cause of liberation and launched a widespread struggle on the cultural front against the demagogic and slave culture of the Japanese and French fascists, against other harmful and wrong cultural tendencies in order to move forward and build a new Vietnamese culture of a national, scientific and popular nature under the leadership of the CPV.

With the success of the August Revolution in 1945 and the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Ho called for the immediate launching of "a campaign to remold the spirit of the people." (1) With this, Marxist-Leninist ideology became the official ideology of our country. No longer carried out by whispers or clandestinely, the effort to propagandize and teach Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party was officially and openly expanded to the entire country through books, newspaper and radio, through the schools, through spirited revolutionary movements of the masses in the war of resistance and national construction. In view of the new circumstances that existed and in the face of the new tasks of the revolution, President Ho always reminded everyone to constantly study Marxism-Leninism, to study Marxism-Leninism throughout one's life, because "without theory, we are as lost as trying to walk with our eyes closed," "because, if

we are weak in theory, we approach each job unable to clearly see what must be done, unable to correctly weigh pros and cons, unable to take effective action. We are unable to recognize objective conditions and circumstances. We act on the basis of whatever we think. The result is usually failure."(2) In the thinking of President Ho, the purpose of studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism is not to commit a number of books on Marxism-Leninism to memory in order to "adorn oneself" and turn oneself into a "walking library," rather, the purpose is to forge a scientific world view and method of thinking, to creatively apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism under the specific circumstances of our country with the aim of performing practical tasks. For this reason, Uncle Ho always demanded that theory go hand in hand with practice.

Under the light of the party's Marxist-Leninist theory, our people, brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism and combining their patriotism with proletarian internationalism, stubbornly fought and won victory over the French colonialists, won independence and freedom and began the advance to socialism. With the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, the North was liberated. However, the South was invaded, occupied and turned into a neo-colony by the U.S. imperialists. While building socialism in the North, we struggled to liberate the South and reunify the country. In the North, in keeping with the thinking of President Ho, we launched large-scale ideological campaigns to combat bourgeois thinking, criticize petty bourgeois thinking and erase all imperialist and feudal thinking. We closely combined constant efforts to heighten the patriotism of the people, build their spirit of national pride and their determination to struggle for the reunification of the country with efforts to cultivate socialist consciousness. As a result, the laboring people of our country gradually came to understand that after toppling the imperialists and feudalists, it was necessary to embark on the course of socialism in order to be forever free from oppression, exploitation, poverty and backwardness. The conscious awareness of being the masters of the country, collectivism, the thinking of "one for all, all for one," a socialist attitude toward labor and revolutionary heroism grew deeper roots among the masses with each passing day.

Of course, it was not easy to erase from the consciousness of the people the thinking, psychology and habits left behind by the colonial and feudal system. Moreover, the imperialists and feudalists of that time were still in power in the South. The class struggle to abolish capitalism, establish socialist production relations and develop socialist production forces in the North had only just begun. Anti-communist propaganda, distortions of our system and our camp, reactionary, idealist theories of the Americans and puppets, decadent, "cowboy" thinking and the "American way of life" inundated the South and even exerted influence also in the North. Even in the North, the pro-imperialist thinking, a sense of national inferiority, the veneration of imperialist culture, respect for a cast hierarchy, official standing and rank, paternalism, bureaucracy, arrogance, respect for men but not for women and so forth of the feudal landowner class still existed among more than a few persons, including cadres and party members. Superstitious practices were still rather widespread at many places, etc. Therefore, after the North was liberated and began advancing to socialism, the struggle for the victory of

Marxist-Leninist thinking and the lines and policies of the party continued and was, at many times, truly a sharp and bitter struggle.

We had to struggle against the activities of the Humanism-Masterpieces saboteurs to distort and attack the line of our party in fields from ideology and culture to economics and politics. This was a widespread struggle, one which reflected the sharp class struggle within society when the North embarked upon the socialist revolution. It was a political struggle and a struggle in literature and art to defend our system, protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defend the correct lines and leadership of the party. "The Humanism-Masterpieces group is a bad seed growing in the ground of backward thinking," said President Ho.(3) As the 16 January 1958 resolution of our party's Political Bureau observed, they were "anti-socialist, anti-party elements who took advantage of weaknesses on our part to continue to attack us on every side through literature and art." They distorted the socialist system in the North, vilified the socialist camp, encouraged bourgeois individualism, demanded "the return of literature and art to literature and art, the return of special skills to special fields," "denounced the communists while amongst the communists"... It took 3 years of bitter struggle (during the initial period, however, from late 1956 to early 1957, we proceeded with caution and abandoned our position to some extent) to abolish their hostile political thinking and reactionary views on literature and art.

We also had to struggle against the influence of modern revisionism. This was a rather complicated struggle because modern revisionism disguises itself as Marxist-Leninist to spread bourgeois views and thinking. Carefully distinguishing between right and wrong and voicing criticism that conformed with reason and sentiment while steadfastly adhering to principles--this was the attitude of President Ho and our party in this struggle. As a result, we succeeded in preventing harm from such mistaken views as wanting to advance to socialism but fearing class struggle, being apprehensive about the dictatorship of the proletariat and fearing the loss of personal freedom, essentially petty-bourgeois and bourgeois freedom; the abstract man theory and abstract humanism of a society with classes and class struggle; denying the party character of literature and art, etc. With this, the position of the Marxist-Leninist world view in the life of our society was further consolidated.

The more than 20 year struggle to liberate the South and complete the national, democratic revolution nationwide also encompassed a very bitter struggle against neo-colonialist thinking and culture. Actually, it was the enemy who called for an "ideological confrontation," for "a war of consciousness." This was essentially a struggle between Marxist-Leninist ideology and reactionary feudal, bourgeois and religious ideologies combined together, generally in the form of such specious theories as personal spiritualism, nihilism and the negative, exhausted philosophy of existentialism; a struggle between the national culture and dignity of the Vietnamese and the reactionary and decadent neo-colonialist culture; and a struggle between the wholesome, simple, righteous and loyal way of life of Vietnam and the seedy, decadent, cold and brutal American way of life. This struggle took place in each home and on each street in the South. Utilizing a

huge psywar apparatus supported by powerful material bases and equipment, the enemy did make certain gains. And the consequences of neo-colonialist ideology and culture in our country have yet to be completely erased. However, we were victorious. The Marxist-Leninist world view and the line of the CPV on the resistance against the United States for national salvation were victorious. The Vietnamese and Vietnamese culture were victorious.

The intellectuals of our country as well as the intellectuals of the colonial and semi-colonial countries or the oppressed nations are different from the intellectuals of the imperialist capitalist countries. President Ho pointed out: generally speaking, our country's intellectuals were oppressed by the imperialists; therefore, their outlook is both national and revolutionary. However, President Ho also said that our country's intellectuals have innate shortcomings, such as individualism, a lack of resolve, a wait and see attitude, pessimism, conservatism and the mindset of working for hire. And, he advised them: "If you try to sit between two chairs, you will surely fall down." (4) In the course of the revolution, we have also had to struggle to overcome deficiencies and deviations in the stand, views and thinking of certain persons, even persons within our ranks, at times when major changes occurred in the revolution. After the party's 3rd National Congress of Delegates and in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the congress, we intensified our ideological work, both within the party, with the aim of cultivating proletarian thinking by systematically teaching Marxism-Leninism, and in society, in general, with the aims of constantly building the socialist awareness, the spirit of patriotism, the determination to reunify the country and the sense of ownership of the people, combating every manifestation of bourgeois thinking, criticizing petty bourgeois thinking and continuing to erase each vestige of feudal thinking and other incorrect ideologies. By performing this ideological task, we helped to insure the completion of the state plan and intensified the struggle to reunify the country. At the same time, we also took another step forward in the socialist ideological revolution in line with the goals of "cultivating socialist thinking in all the people, most importantly the laboring people, rejecting the old world view and philosophy of life, establishing the world view of Marxism-Leninism and the communist philosophy of life, so that Marxism-Leninism occupies the position of unquestioned dominance within the spiritual life of our country and becomes the ideology of all the people, and, on this basis, cultivating the new ethics of our people." (5)

As our party observed, the great victory of our nation in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was not only the victory of our correct political line and military line, but also the "victory of Marxism-Leninism, of socialist thinking becoming increasingly well established among the broad masses; the victory of the will to achieve independence and freedom, of traditional patriotism more vigorously displayed than in any other time in the nation's history; and the victory of the dignity of Vietnam, of the noble spiritual values of the Vietnamese." (6) With this victory, with this historic turning point in the Vietnamese revolution, with our fatherland becoming totally independent, the nation and socialism became one. The entire country has been reunified and is advancing to socialism in the arduous and complex struggle between socialism and capitalism, in free labor, in love and justice.



Since the revolution, especially since the early 1960's, increasingly better conditions have existed for strongly developing upon the thinking of collective ownership advanced by President Ho. We are gradually putting into practice the system of collective ownership through the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." Our theory on collective ownership is gradually forming and having an impact. It is: to be the masters of politics, the economy, culture and society; to be the masters of society, the masters of nature, the masters of ourselves; to exercise ownership nationwide, within each locality and at each basic unit; and combining, in an organic way, collective ownership and the genuine freedom of each individual. Being the master means knowing and correctly applying objective laws with a view toward supporting the development of society and man. It means employing a scientific method of thinking, means thinking and acting in a manner consistent with actual requirements and capabilities. It means fulfilling one's obligations and exercising one's rights as a collective master of the country...

Not only the political views of the working class on the class struggle in the period of transition to socialism, on labor, on collective ownership, on patriotism and proletarian internationalism, but also its views on philosophy, law, ethics, aesthetics and so forth are gaining increasing prominence in the life of our people.

The struggle to eradicate every manifestation of the ideology of the exploiting classes with a view toward completely changing the spiritual face of our society and rebuilding the spiritual life of our people on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism continues today and is no less arduous and complex. Overt and covert sabotage is still being conducted against us by the imperialists, expansionists and other reactionaries. We still see the dangerous effects of bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking, of the remnants of feudal thinking, of neo-colonialist culture, of religious and superstitious world views, etc. There are still weaknesses in the stand, thinking and viewpoints of persons within our ranks. A vague concept of the struggle between the two paths and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, the habits of small-scale production and a lack of knowledge of science and technology still impede our people's progress. The maladies of bureaucracy and remoteness from the masses, conservatism and inertia, subjectivism and impetuous disregard for laws continue to cause much harm. There are even signs of a serious erosion of ethics and lifestyle among some cadres and people. However, "only socialism can achieve the long held dream of the laboring people to be forever free of oppression, exploitation, backwardness and poverty in order to live a life of comfort today and be assured of a civilized and happy life tomorrow. Only socialism can return the full right of ownership to the laboring people, return genuine worth to man and truly make man the master of society, the master of nature and the master of himself. Only through socialism can our fatherland build a modern economy, a progressive culture and science and a solid, strong national defense system and thus insure that our country is forever independent and free and becomes more prosperous with each passing day. Only through socialism can we reunify our fatherland on the highest and fullest possible level, reunify it from the standpoint of territory, the standpoint of politics and spirit, the standpoint of the economy, culture and society, the standpoint of rights and obligations



so that everyone is united and feels a sincere and warm love for one another."(7) These facts have become the fundamental realizations that form the basis of the spiritual life of our people today as they carry out the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and staunchly defending the socialist fatherland. The ideological goal, the foremost goal, of the ideological and cultural revolution based on the platform of President Ho and our party has been and is gradually becoming reality: the Marxist-Leninist world view and socialist thinking have assumed the dominant position within and are controlling the spiritual life of our people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume 4, p 7.
2. Ibid., pp 444 and 445.
3. Excerpted from To Huu in "Xay dung mot nen van nghe lon xung dang voi nhan dan ta, voi thoi dai ta"[Building a Large System of Literature and Art Worthy of Our People, of Our Times], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p 216.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 535.
5. "Van kien Dai hoi III,"[Proceedings of the 3rd Congress], Hanoi, 1960, Volume 1, p 70.
6. "Bao cao chinh tri cua BCHTUD tai Dai hoi IV,"[Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 112-113.
7. Ibid., pp 48-49.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: BASIC LEVEL PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE QUALITY OF HEALTH CARE IN THE YEARS AHEAD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 48-53

[Article by Dang Hoi Xuan]

[Text] Of the general socio-economic goals for the 1980's set by our party's 5th Congress, special importance has been attached to the goal of caring for the people's health.

During the past several years, in keeping with the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, public health personnel have tried to move forward and complete the large tasks assigned by the party and people. To succeed in maintaining public health activities, protecting the health of the people and promptly serve each pressing need in the cause of building and defending the fatherland against the background of repeated natural disasters, the many difficulties being encountered by our people in everyday life and the enemy's continuing border war of encroachment and occupation and wide-ranging war of sabotage against us represent an achievement deserving of pride.

The focus of the efforts of the public health sector during the past several years has been to achieve the five public health targets and step up the "five complete jobs" movement. We have been gradually carrying out these tasks. As a result of our active efforts to prevent and control disease, not one major epidemic has occurred. Through increased medical examinations, treatment and at-home health care, we have reduced the morbidity rates for malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, conjunctivitis, whooping cough, polio, tetanus, measles, etc. A new stage of development has been reached in folk medicine by combining modern medical science with traditional medicine. The contributions of the 6,000 physicians and tens of thousands of assistants, nurses and doctors who have been trained or received supplementary training in folk medicine have increased our ability to conduct medical examination and provide medical treatment using medicinal herbs and methods that do not require drugs, such as acupuncture, acupressure, massage, diet... The campaign to practice planned parenthood and reduce the rate of population growth has steadily developed and produced practical returns. Efforts to improve the nutrition of mothers and children are being expanded. Through the establishment of the Federation of Pharmaceutical Enterprises and the efforts of many localities

and basic units, we have partly overcome the current shortage of medicine. During the past 4 years, we have more than tripled the value of the output of medicine and drugs. Some public health equipment and implements that once had to be imported are now being produced domestically.

Building the system of public health organizations, especially the district, precinct, ward, village and subward public health network, is considered the most important target. Five years ago, the villages and subwards of the southern provinces were staffed only with nurses. Today, 80 percent have doctor's assistants. The organization and cadre staff of the hospitals, malaria prevention and control hygiene units, pharmacies, district folk medicine diagnostic centers and area general examination offices have been strengthened. On the average, each district has eight doctors (in the southern districts, the number of doctors per district is still low). The majority of districts have a college trained pharmacist.

Along with working to meet the five health care targets and promptly overcoming the aftereffects of natural disasters, the public health sector considers providing combat support to be a regular task. The sector has trained and periodically inspected local cadres; provided additional equipment and medicine to the provincial and district public health facilities along the northern border; and coordinated with military medical forces in caring for and rescuing civilians and soldiers at places where fighting has occurred. In battles to defend the border, emergency battlefield medical operations have been organized well and promptly.

Under the plan for the past 5 years, the training of cadres, scientific research, the building of material-technical bases and international cooperation have also been increased. The nationwide system of colleges, academies, middle schools and elementary classes of the sector has annually trained from 1,500 to 2,000 doctors, 250 to 300 college trained pharmacists and thousands of cadres of all types who have a middle school education. It has also provided supplementary specialized training to thousands of cadres. Many scientific research projects have been carried out. More than 3,000 village and subward public health stations, nearly 1,000 district, precinct and ward public health units (hospitals, malaria prevention and control hygiene units, pharmacies and medical examination offices) and many provincial and central public health units have been constructed or repaired and equipped. The public health sector has expanded its international cooperation and use of international aid and increased its full-scale cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia and the socialist countries, with other countries and world public health organizations.

During the past several years, the public health sector has made full use of investment capital of the state and the existing capabilities of the entire sector while also relying upon the large capabilities of the localities, the concern of the other sectors and contributions by the people. We have attached special importance to propagandizing and mobilizing the masses to participate in the movement to thoroughly carry out the five different public health jobs. This movement has become a force stimulating efforts to meet the five targets and complete the plan of the sector, maintain the delivery of good initial health care to the people. Thousands of villages and subwards

and hundreds of districts, precincts and wards have met the standards for the thorough completion of from one to all five public health jobs. Many advanced units, many new factors and many outstanding individuals have emerged and been awarded by our party and state the titles "Hero" and "National Emulation Warrior." From these models, we can gain experience in creative concepts and approaches in order to overcome the difficulties we face and move forward to complete our tasks.

The above mentioned achievements are basic and deserving of pride. However, in many areas, we have failed to meet or have only met a small percentage of requirements compared to the targets and tasks set by the 5th Party Congress. Our party, our people and even public health personnel are not satisfied with the current state of health care and efforts to protect the health of the people. At many places, especially in densely populated areas, at public places, in the municipalities, cities, towns, industrial complexes and so forth, the environment continues to be seriously polluted. The shortage of drugs, even common drugs, is still acute. The production of drugs, the importation of drugs, the management, distribution and use of drugs and drug prices pose problems that must be resolved in order to better meet the disease prevention and medical treatment needs of our people. The population has continued to grow at a rapid rate over the past several years, thus bringing very heavy pressure to bear upon the socio-economic situation. Generally speaking, the public health network, especially on the basic level, is still continuing to decline, has not been strengthened and is not stable. At many places, public health cadres and personnel have left the profession, have left their jobs, which has adversely affected disease prevention and control efforts and our ability to provide medical examinations, medical treatment and health care to the laboring people. The quality of many public health activities is not what it should be. The spirit of responsibility and attitude of many public health cadres and personnel are not good and are still far from the spirit that "a physician be as good and kind as a mother." Many negative phenomena have occurred, especially in the fields of medical examination, medical treatment and the management and distribution of drugs. Many public health cadres and personnel are arrogant and authoritarian, practice favoritism and take bribes, pilfer and sell drugs...thus reducing the people's confidence in public health work in general. The failure to correctly comply with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee and Political Bureau Resolution 28 at some public health facilities has made an already difficult and complex situation even more difficult and complex.

The shortcomings and weaknesses in public health work during the past several years have both objective and subjective causes. Natural disasters, enemy attacks and the socio-economic situation of a backward country that recently emerged from several decades of war have posed very large obstacles to the development of the public health sector and our efforts to meet the needs of the revolution. Funding for public health work, especially for hospitals and public health stations, is very low (meeting only 50 to 60 percent of minimum needs). There is a very serious shortage of public health supplies and implements. The procurement prices currently being paid for pharmaceuticals are very low and do not put pharmaceuticals into the hands of the state. We also do not have enough foreign currency to import essential drugs. We do not

have factories producing antibiotics, do not have enough factories producing medical implements and glassware, etc. The shortage of public health implements and medicine has become increasingly serious. Moreover, public health cadres and personnel are encountering many difficulties in their daily lives, the policies and systems (especially those concerning basic public health cadres) are unsatisfactory, have not been promptly amended or revised and so forth, which have adversely affected and reduced the quality of public health activities.

However, the main causes continue to be subjective. We do not have a full appreciation of the functions of public health and medical science, of man's most precious asset, his health. The various levels of the party and administration, the social organizations and the people only assign the tasks of caring for, protecting and improving man's health to the public health sector. We do not realize that good health not only requires active efforts to prevent and control epidemics and diseases, but also requires that we create a very good natural environment and a very good social environment. Each of us must protect and improve our own health by means of a suitable regime of work, exercise, diet, relaxation, activities and entertainment. We have not done a good job of propagandizing and teaching, in a thorough and scientific manner, the concept of protecting the environment and the concept of protecting and improving one's health.

The public health sector bears the primary responsibility for the shortcomings that have occurred in its activities. The work of teaching politics and ideology to heighten the spirit of responsibility and the desire to serve patients has not been carried out well. At certain times and places, this work has been ignored. The sector's good models have not been widely copied. Measures have not been taken to mobilize the masses to bring to light, struggle against and work with determination to prevent and stop negative phenomena. As a result, the effectiveness of the masses' support of public health has been harmed and their confidence in public health work has declined. At certain times and places, the failure to concretize the directives, resolutions and policies of our party and state in the field of public health in a timely and suitable manner has also caused unnecessary adverse influences.

In the spirit of frank criticism and self-criticism and confirming the achievements that have been recorded while squarely facing the truth, we are determined to quickly correct the shortcomings and weaknesses described above and do a better job of delivering health care to the people.

In the process of implementing the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, we have become increasingly aware of the basic, pressing problems facing us in delivering health care to our people. These problems are also the practical bases upon which we will discuss and set the tasks of public health work in the years ahead.

In 1985, on the occasion of "Vietnam Doctors Day," Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong pointed out: the health of man depends upon the social environment and natural environment, upon the efforts made by each person to improve his or her health and upon the impact of medical science and public



health. Consequently, health care must consist of comprehensive economic, cultural and social measures with the aims of improving the material and cultural living conditions of the worker, protecting and cleaning up the environment, raising the standards and increasing the knowledge of each person, developing medical science and organizing public health services well. Health care must be the responsibility of all levels of the party and administration, of all sectors and all society.

It has come time to re-examine and continue the basic investigations into the health and disability situation and the factors related to health so that the public health sector can do a better job of serving as the staff of the party and state in the adoption of policies and the line on caring for, protecting and improving the health of all the people.

In its many years of working under exceedingly difficult conditions, our country's public health sector has recorded one major success: the state, in coordination with the people, has developed a nationwide public health network, a network that provides public health services to each citizen and has put into practice the slogan "a doctor and medicine available within the neighborhood." This is a good experience. To achieve the general goal of "good health for everyone by the year 2000," a goal set by the World Health Organization, we are working in concert with other countries to develop the delivery of initial health care to the people. Initial health care consists of comprehensive measures taken to care for the health of the people, measures that have already been taken by us, such as teaching about health, supplying clean water and cleaning up the environment; improving the diet and nutrition; administering vaccinations; preventing and controlling epidemics and social diseases; protecting mothers and children; family planning; treating common illnesses and injuries; supplying essential drugs... Initial health care involves introducing appropriate advanced technologies on the basic level so that these measures can be taken with the help of the various sectors and mass organizations and the voluntary participation of the people in order to regularly and effectively care for the health of the various strata of the people and promptly provide treatment for the epidemics, diseases and injuries that occur each day on the basic level. This approach is consistent with our party's view that we must take the initiative and be activists in public health work and with preventive medicine, a guideline now being applied by mankind. This approach also makes use of the capabilities of traditional medicine, locally available sources of pharmaceuticals and the innovations and broad experience of the masses. Therefore, it is the most convenient and economical way to provide health care to everyone and reduces the heavy, unnecessary burden upon the state and public health organizations on the upper line. For this reason, our country's public health sector considers the delivery of initial health care to be the task of number one importance in the 1986-1990 five year public health plan. To perform this important task, it is of decisive significance that we consolidate and strengthen the basic level public health network, from the village, subward, enterprise, worksite, state farm and forestry site public health stations to the mass public health network within each of the smallest population units. Public health personnel and Red Cross members must maintain close contact with households and voluntarily care for the people's health. The members of this corps, depending upon the responsibility of each person, must receive full elementary

or supplementary training in the measures involved in initial health care. The corps of village and subward public health station cadres must be paid appropriate salaries or living expenses. Production unit or hamlet and mountain village nurses must be appointed and supported by the people, must be helped by the people so that they are fully competent and content with their work. The activities of the basic level public health network can only be truly effective when health education is intensified among the people so that each citizen is conscious of and knows how to care for his health, the health of his family and the health of the collective at the place where he lives while eagerly participating in the implementation of initial health care measures within the locality.

In 1978, at the international conference on health work on the basic level held in Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh Republic (Soviet Union), the governments of the participating countries pledged to carry out initial health care measures and meet the strategic goal of "good health for everyone by the year 2000." In our country, the implementation of these comprehensive measures can only be achieved when this effort is directly led by the various party committee echelons and the people's committees on the various levels and when the various sectors and mass organizations fulfill their responsibility toward the people's health. Providing initial health care is the central task of the entire public health sector, not simply the task of the basic level public health network. Depending upon their function, the public health units on the upper lines must orient their efforts toward supporting the delivery of initial health care through research, organizational work, guidance, the elementary and supplementary training of cadres and the assignment of additional cadres and the supplying of additional equipment to basic level public health facilities.

A pressing and strict requirement in serving patients and the health of the people well is the need to improve the quality of service in every field of public health work. This is a matter of survival in the detailed and complex specialized fields of work related to the health and life of man. The work performed in these fields must always be performed with the high spirit of responsibility and deep love of the people and patients, of "a physician who is as good and kind as a mother," performed with skill and strict compliance with technical standards and regulations. Within each public health unit, it is necessary to inspect and reassess the aspect of the quality of work so that guidelines and specific measures can be adopted for the years ahead. Political and ideological education must be intensified to build a higher sense of organization and discipline and a higher spirit of awareness, of struggling to overcome negative phenomena and the practices of taking liberties and doing as one sees fit. Regularly providing supplementary training in specialized fields and accelerating our scientific and technical work in conjunction with strengthening our organization and revamping the management mechanism are the principal measures to be taken by the public health sector to improve the quality of service at basic public health units in the years of the next 5-year plan--which will be the years devoted to basic public health network and the quality of health services.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: INTENSIFYING SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE NEW SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 54-58

[Article by Nguyen Van Hanh, vice minister of education]

[Text] One great honor of the supplementary education sector, which is an important part of our country's education system, is that it was founded by Uncle Ho and always guided and directed by him. Immediately after we seized political power (September 1945) and in the name of the president of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, Uncle Ho, because it was part of his ultimate desire that all our fellow countrymen be educated, set one of the pressing tasks of the revolutionary administration as wiping out the enemy that is ignorance. And, only 1 week later, he signed the decree establishing the Popular Education Department to serve the education needs and wipe out illiteracy among our people.

Today, following more than 40 years of revolution, the supplementary education sector has recorded many large achievements: it helped to consolidate and protect the revolutionary administration during its "infancy"; it has raised the cultural standards of the people; it has trained cadres, manual workers and farmers; and it has helped to build the new life and mold the new man. In particular, the sector has reached a new level of development nationwide since the total liberation of the South. Millions of persons who never learned to read or write under the American-puppet regime subsequently attended school and became literate, thus displaying patriotism and love of the new system and a desire to contribute to revolutionary activities. In a little more than 2 years, 1.5 million persons learned to read and write. As a result, our country virtually wiped out illiteracy. This effort has been followed by the movement to popularize level I education among the laboring people nationwide. One after another, the provinces of the lowlands and midlands of the North and a number of delta villages and districts in the South have met the required standards. Significant achievements have also been recorded in raising the level of education of the key cadres on the various levels and outstanding youths. Many supplementary education schools have been established, especially formal schools of provinces and districts, a number of economic and cultural sectors and the armed forces. In the South in 1978, there were 50 provincial schools with an enrollment of 21,000 level II and level III

students and 150 district schools with an enrollment of more than 15,000 level I and level II students. In each region of the country there is also one level III school for young workers who have recorded many outstanding achievements. On-the-job schools have also developed at many places, especially in the municipalities, cities, towns, industrial complexes... Each year, about 100,000 persons attend these schools.

Today, as a result of supplementary education movements, practically all cadres and party members nationwide (except for a number of wilderness areas and areas in the high mountains) have a level I education or higher. In the lowland and midland provinces of the North, the majority of basic level cadres have a level II education, one-third of provincial and district cadres have more than a level II education. In the South, the majority of basic level cadres have a level I education and district and provincial cadres have a level II education or higher. The rise in their level of education has helped the cadres of all levels and sectors understand and correctly apply the lines, positions and policies of the party and state. It is also much easier for them to study and learn revolutionary theory, socio-economic knowledge, knowledge of everyday life, etc.

The above mentioned achievements have been recorded mainly as a result of many party committees and administrations on the local and basic levels and many sectors providing close leadership and guidance under the light of the resolutions and directives of our party and state and creating favorable conditions for teaching and learning. They have also been the result of a process of steadfast efforts by supplementary education teachers and management cadres and by students to overcome each difficulty being faced in order to teach and learn well. At many places, the supplementary education movement has developed and effectively supports revolutionary tasks. At many places, supplementary education is a moving force behind economic, cultural and social development. Heroic collectives have emerged within the field of supplementary education, such as Cam Binh in Nghe Tinh Province, Cat Hanh in Nghia Binh Province and Ngo Luong in Ha Son Binh Province. These are outstanding units that have contributed much by way of valuable experience to the cause of education in our country in recent years.

However, during the past several years, the supplementary education movement has, generally speaking declined in quality and failed to promptly meet the needs of our people in the new stage. Enrollment has seriously declined. At present, only about 300,000 persons nationwide are attending supplementary education schools. At many formal supplementary education schools, the percentage of students for whom supplementary education is not intended is relatively high (about 40-50 percent). Fewer and fewer cadres and outstanding youths have been enrolling at supplementary education schools. Many formal supplementary education schools have closed. Enrollment in many on-the-job schools in the countryside, in the mountains...is sparse. In three-fourths of the provinces nationwide, only about 300 cadres of the various sectors and levels are attending supplementary education schools in each province. The majority of the persons attending the level III supplementary education schools are youths and teenagers (who do not have stable employment). One-half of the villages and enterprises of the entire country either have no supplementary education classes or no one attending these classes. The level



of education of cadres, party members and youths in the countryside has stopped rising or only risen by an insignificant amount. Among the ethnic minorities in the highlands, the number of persons who are illiterate or have fallen back into illiteracy is very high. Some cadres and party members on the basic level in these areas do not know how to read or write. The number of illiterates has been rapidly increased as a result of many children not attending schools or dropping out of school in the early years of the level I system. At present, millions of persons in our country are illiterate.

The quality of supplementary education teaching and learning is also poor and behind the demands of life. The most striking aspect of the methods of teaching and learning employed in supplementary education are the fact that they are much like the methods used with children in general school education. A perfunctory, cursory, "form for form's sake" approach to learning, the attitude of studying just to get a diploma...are spreading. At many places, the movement is a movement in name only, emphasis is placed on enrollment and attention is not given to substance and results. Light attention is given to the requirements of learning scientific knowledge and applying it in production and everyday life. Generally speaking, the results of supplementary education are not evident in everyday life or in work.

There are many reasons for the shortcomings and weaknesses in supplementary education in recent years. To begin with, many party committee echelons, local administrations, basic units and leaders of the various sectors and mass organizations, including the education sector, do not have a correct understanding of the position, importance and pressing nature of education, in general, and supplementary education, in particular, in the revolution today. Many persons do not realize that cadres are required in order for socio-economic development to take place and in the training of cadres, education is the first step. As a result, many places express great satisfaction with the achievements that have been recorded but do not see the new and ever rising needs of the masses and society. Some sectors and localities have not carried out cadre planning and do not involve themselves in guiding or creating favorable conditions for supplementary education. Some leaders at one place or another subscribe to the narrow view that our corps of cadres is rather complete and our people's level of education is quite high; therefore, there is no or little need to develop supplementary education.

But the most important reason why more and more persons do not like to study is because the subject matter, programs, forms of learning and methods of organization of supplementary education are impractical and do not meet the needs of students. This responsibility belongs to the leaders of the education sector and the functional agencies of this sector. The reform of education is not being carried out in a way that is well coordinated. Virtually all attention is being given to general school education. Light attention is being given to the conditions needed to maintain and develop the supplementary education sector. At some times and places, the development of this sector is even being allowed to "drift." Subject matter, programs, curricula and the forms of teaching and learning are very backward and rigid and are being revised and improved slowly. As a result, students rarely see



practical results that can be applied in their work, in production and everyday life and see themselves as wasting much time, time that could be better spent on other things.

The facts that the corps of supplementary education teachers, cadres and personnel is, generally speaking, inadequate, unbalanced and deficient in many areas and is not well organized or being utilized in a rational way are also very important factors in the decline of the supplementary education movement. Because the general schools have not put the "one council (teacher), two tasks" policy into practice, an important force of teachers who could participate in supplementary education as instructors has been wasted. We also do not know how to make full use or gain the participation of the large corps of instructors at colleges, vocational middle schools and trade training schools and specialized, professional persons as instructors in supplementary education. Instructors and students are not given incentive or encouraged by the fact that the systems and policies that pertain to supplementary education teachers, cadres and personnel as well as students are unsuitable but are being amended and revised slowly.

In addition, the many difficulties that our people continue to encounter in their everyday lives, the question of how to implement the product contract system within agricultural cooperatives and so forth have also impeded the development of the supplementary education movement.

Clearly, the field of supplementary education in some ways lags far behind life, far behind the requirements of the revolution and poses urgent problems that must be resolved. The realities of the revolution and the requirements of our cadres and people demand that supplementary education undergo prompt changes in order to suit the new situation and tasks. Today, supplementary education is essentially generally school education for adults. The socialist revolution and the scientific-technological revolution in the world are undergoing strong development. Modern day man must constantly learn, cultivate knowledge and "supplement" his "education" in many different areas in order to be well suited to the requirements of society. This requires that everyone have at least a general school education to lay the foundation for the process of studying and training to raise one's job standards and skills. Our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The economy is still experiencing very many acute difficulties. To accelerate economic and cultural development and acquire the achievements of advanced science and technology, it is first of all necessary for each citizen to have a certain level of education. Therefore, our party has frequently stated that wiping out illiteracy, popularizing education, raising scientific-technical and management standards, cultivating proper political, ideological and ethical standards...are the factors of decisive significance in the laboring people displaying the sense of collective ownership and developing their ability to exercise this ownership in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Supplementary education must be improved in many areas: subject matter, programs, the organization of schools and classes, teaching methods, management mechanism, procedures, policies, etc. The general subject matter taught to adults should consist not only of basic knowledge, but also some

knowledge of management and society and the knowledge necessary for a wholesome life. The relative proportion of these types of knowledge within the structure of each program must vary depending upon who is being taught. Elderly cadres must be taught and delve deeply into simple, selected scientific knowledge so that they can engage in theoretical thinking and adopt scientific work methods. In the case of young cadres and youths, the program must meet the need to learn basic sciences combined with appropriate technical knowledge in order to enable them to improve their occupational skills and live a life based on revolutionary ideals and the correct philosophy of life. Simple laborers must study under a program designed to give them "proficiency in reading and writing" and practical scientific knowledge for use in work, production and everyday life. Thus, some parts of the subject matter taught in supplementary education must be permanent and stable while other parts must regularly change. Some must apply to everyone in every area of the country and some must be specifically tailored to meet the needs of each area, locality, ethnic group, age group, skill level and so forth. When developing the subject matter and programs used in supplementary education and organizing supplementary education classes, one special feature of this kind of education must be kept in mind: generally speaking, supplementary education students are persons who have full-time jobs, persons who have acquired a certain amount of life experience, a certain amount of knowledge and certain standards. As a result, the methods of organizing schools and classes, the methods of instruction, the management mechanism and so forth must be practical, diverse, flexible and suitable so that everyone who has a need to learn can meet this need.

The methods of instruction employed in supplementary education must be changed and improved on the basis of developing the highest possible degree of activism and initiative on the part of students and tapping their life experience with a view toward cultivating in them a desire to learn, a passion for learning and the ability to study and learn on their own throughout their life. While rapidly strengthening and expanding the network of supplementary education schools and classes, it is necessary to overcome the inertia, weaknesses and backwardness in the ways that instruction and learning are organized so that "schools become schools, classes become classes." In the countryside and the mountains, it is even more necessary for classes and studies to be organized in a manner consistent with local habits and the agricultural season so that favorable conditions are created and students do not drop out of their programs. Besides formal schools and classes, it is necessary to expand the various types of informal classes at production units, agencies, enterprises and work places, which must be held during the most convenient hours. Supplementary education activities must be combined with the activities of cultural facilities, such as clubs, cultural centers, libraries and reading rooms, and the use of the mass media (books, newspapers, the cinema, radio, television and so forth) in order to increase the returns from education and broaden the forms of education available outside the school. This will provide many possibilities for the laborer to study and raise his standards and knowledge on his own.

The current corps of supplementary education teachers and management cadres is very inadequate and lacks balance. Many of these persons are weak in terms of management and organizational skills, in terms of their ability to mobilize

the masses and weak in specialized and professional skills. Therefore, there is an urgent need to train, augment and upgrade this corps. For years, supplementary education teachers have simply passed on knowledge. They have not organized, directed or guided the education process, have not propagandized, agitated or inspired students to enrich their knowledge, to exercise their right and fulfill their obligation to learn. In this new stage, supplementary education teachers must receive training in revolutionary qualities, in specialized skills and in organization and management. We must also have the necessary number of these teachers. The teachers at general schools, colleges, vocational middle schools, trade training schools and so forth must be given the responsibility of participating in teaching supplementary education classes. Persons who possess scientific, technical, specialized or professional skills must also be drawn into and organized to participate in teaching appropriate subjects. The teachers and cadres of the supplementary education sector as well as all other persons who participate in this work must receive appropriate encouragement, incentives, benefits and remuneration.

The large tasks of education today demand the full efforts of all society. Supplementary education is the cause of the broad laboring masses who, every hour of every day, are directly engaged in labor, production and work, are building and defending the fatherland. Supplementary education is directly related to all sectors, levels, mass organizations and social organizations. Therefore, it demands that the leaders of all sectors, levels, mass organizations...set a good example by actively participating in teaching, attending, organizing and managing supplementary education schools and classes and urgently make appropriate investments in this important field. Providing cadres with training on a regular basis also makes a direct contribution to raising social labor productivity and the efficiency of work. The various sectors and levels must also participate in the development of programs and subject matter, supply instructors and set procedures and policies for instructors and students. The above can only be done well when the state enacts a code of joint-sector regulations that specifically define tasks and clearly define responsibilities.

By taking the basic steps presented above, we will begin to make the supplementary education sector well suited to the new situation and tasks so that it effectively supports the cause of building and defending the fatherland. These steps are also the important basis, the primary factors involved in the reform of supplementary education in our country today.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE TRAINING OF ETHNIC MINORITY CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 59-62, 101

[Article by Do Anh Chau]

[Text] Training and building the corps of ethnic minority cadres are one of the matters of key importance in implementing the party's nationalities policy, are the factor of foremost importance in building stronger unity among the ethnic groups, achieving equality among the ethnic groups and upholding the right of collective ownership of the different ethnic elements within a unified nation.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. Mobilizing and organizing the masses of the various nationalities for the purpose of carrying out a revolution demands a corps of cadres whose background is among the ethnic masses. On the basis of its correct class view and nationalities policy, our party has been making every effort to build a mass base and train an increasingly large and strong corps of ethnic minority cadres.

Since the very first days of the revolution, many outstanding sons and daughters of the ethnic minorities have followed the party and fought under its banner. Educated and forged by the party and challenged by the revolution, many of these persons have become party members and outstanding political and military cadres of the party. Since the August Revolution, the ranks of ethnic minority cadres have constantly grown and developed.

Following the total liberation of the South and the adoption of the two strategic tasks by our reunified country, we began to take an even more comprehensive and detailed approach to the elementary and advanced training of ethnic minority cadres. The 4th Congress of our party pointed out: we must "actively train ethnic minority cadres in all fields of work of the party, state and mass organizations, with foremost importance attached to leadership cadres and economic management cadres." (1) The 5th Congress emphasized this issue and added: "Importance must be attached to training ethnic leadership, management and scientific-technical cadres well, primarily for the district and basic levels." (2)

During the past 10 years, our party has adopted many positions and measures to improve and amend procedures and policies, provide better material bases and conditions, gradually improve the quality of elementary and advanced training and gradually correct the inadequacies in the assignment, utilization and management of cadres. Today, we have a corps of hundreds of thousands of ethnic minority cadres of many different types: leadership cadres, management cadres, scientific research cadres, college and vocational middle school instructors, technical, specialized and professional cadres in all sectors and political, military, economic, cultural and art cadres on all levels, from the central to the basic levels. The majority of these cadres have been forged, have grown and matured in the realities of carrying out socialist transformation and construction, strengthening our security and national defenses and defending the fatherland. In particular, the corps of scientific and technical cadres has grown very rapidly. Following 10 years of actively providing training, plus the efforts made previously, we now have more than 7,000 ethnic minority cadres who have an academy, college or post-graduate education, 2.7 percent of the total number of cadres of this type, and more than 27,000 ethnic minority cadres who have a middle school education, 6.1 percent of the total number of cadres of this type. We have scientists who are members of the Tay, Thai, Muong, Nung, Dao, Cham and other ethnic minorities. The corps of ethnic minority leadership and management cadres has also developed and grown from the central to the basic levels. From the district level upward, there are more than 9,000 such cadres, 4.9 percent of the total number of leadership and management cadres.

In the newly liberated ethnic minority areas, the number of basic level cadres, district cadres and personnel of provincial or district agencies who are members of an ethnic minority has risen rapidly, thereby meeting an important portion of leadership and management requirements and accelerating activities in these areas. As of early 1984, some 8,000 cadres and personnel on the staffs of the Central Highland provinces were ethnic minority members. In Dac Lac Province, 12.1 percent of basic level party committee members, 18 percent of district and city party committee members and 37 percent of key village and subward cadres (according to statistics on the 10 positions) are members of the ethnic minorities within the locality. Many of these persons have been performing their job well. A number of specialized cadres trained under the old system have also been transformed, boldly utilized and given advanced training. In the areas along the northern border, the corps of basic and district level cadres has been forged, has grown and matured in many ways through the struggle against the schemes and tactics of the enemy and the work of building and protecting our forces.

In the agencies of power (the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels), which directly manifest the right of the various ethnic groups to be the collective masters of the state together, outstanding representatives of the ethnic minorities have been participating in increasing numbers and those selected as representatives have been increasingly well qualified. The 7th National Assembly included deputies from 33 ethnic groups (the previous National Assembly only had deputies from 30 ethnic groups).

However, the training and building of the corps of ethnic minority cadres are still marked by many weaknesses and shortcomings, especially in highland



areas, border areas, remote, wilderness areas, places that are experiencing difficulties and newly liberated areas.

The corps of cadres of the Mong, Dao, Kho-mu, Xinh-min and other ethnic minorities, despite the attention given to providing them with elementary and advanced training, has developed more slowly than the corps of cadres of the Tay ethnic group, the Thai ethnic group, the Muong ethnic group, etc. There are even some places where this corps has stopped growing or begun to decrease in size. In newly liberated areas (the Central Highlands, along the Truong Son Mountain Range...), the corps of cadres, especially economic management cadres and scientific-technical cadres, is still of insufficient size and weak. The force of basic level and district level cadres is still thin and has not kept pace with requirements. The majority of district cadres and an important percentage of basic level cadres are still cadres who were transferred from other places. For example, in Dac Lac Province, as many as 91 percent of district level management cadres and 63 percent of key village and subward cadres are persons who were transferred from other places. At some places, despite a rather large pool of trained cadres, the corps of cadres has not developed because of policy and procedural problems.

The average age of the corps of leadership and management cadres, especially on the district and basic levels, is being reduced slowly. Many comrades are now old but young cadres have not been properly prepared to succeed them. The corps of scientific and technical cadres has developed rapidly but not in a way that is balanced or well coordinated in terms of levels of education and occupations. There is still a shortage of economic management cadres, specialists and highly skilled technical workers. This poses an obstacle to efforts to develop strengths and build the new economic structure in those localities that have a large ethnic minority population.

Party members and Youth Union members constitute a large pool of persons who can be immediately trained as cadres. However, at many places, the party base is still thin and weak. The corps of party members and Youth Union members is growing slowly, their standards are still low in many respects and some persons are still illiterate.

Developing the corps of ethnic minority manual workers is also an important requirement in implementing the nationalities policy. During the past 10 years, in conjunction with expanding the economy in ethnic minority areas, a corps of ethnic minority manual workers has formed and gradually developed. Generally speaking, however, the development of this corps has not kept pace with the rate or scale of the development of the economy and industrialization. At present, ethnic minority manual workers only account for about 2.3 percent of the total number of manual workers nationwide. Industrial units, state farms and forestry sites in areas inhabited by ethnic minorities should attract large numbers of local laborers and train them to be knowledgeable and skilled manual workers. However, many places have not given appropriate attention to this matter. At the Cam Duong Apatite Mine, a large mine in Hoang Lien Son Province, ethnic minority workers only make up about 2.7 percent of the workforce.

The reasons for the shortcomings and weaknesses described above are the low level of socio-economic development and low standard of living in many ethnic minority areas, especially highland areas along the border; the many years of war; and the fact that the country's overall economy is still encountering many difficulties and lacks balance. However, the main reason is that the various sectors, levels and responsible agencies do not fully appreciate the role and importance of ethnic minority cadre work in resolving the ethnic issue and implementing the nationalities policy. There is a lack of high determination and a lack of specific policies, measures and plans for gradually training cadres for each area and each ethnic group. Existing policies are not being thoroughly implemented and well coordinated measures have not been taken to improve the quality and effectiveness of cadre training. Many good experiences and models have not been reviewed or developed upon. We have not promptly researched effective measures or necessary policies in order to promote the training of cadres within areas or ethnic groups that are encountering many difficulties or have a pressing need for cadres. The organization of implementation lacks attention to detail and is generally characterized by doing that which is easy but avoiding that which is difficult.

In the years ahead, in order to continue to successfully perform the two strategic tasks, implement the party's nationalities policy well, gradually erase the differences in the levels of economic and cultural development among the ethnic groups, accelerate socialist construction and implement a nationwide division of labor, we must make every effort to improve the quality and effectiveness of training and build an increasingly large, solid and strong corps of ethnic minority cadres.

The general guideline continues to be training a large and strong corps of ethnic minority cadres that consists of all the different types of cadres in all fields of work and activity, with attention to leadership cadres, management cadres and scientific-technical cadres, mainly for the district and basic levels. In particular, importance must be attached to further intensifying the effort to train and build a corps of cadres for the highland areas along the border and newly liberated areas in the South, especially places where the movement is still weak.

We must develop a correct and deeper understanding of the role and importance of training and building the corps of ethnic minority cadres in the overall revolution in order to acquire the necessary determination. Ethnic minority cadres are persons who know the language, psychology, aspirations, customs, habits and living standards of their ethnic group. They are also persons who are devoted to their ethnic group's revolutionary cause, are the bridge linking the party to the masses of the ethnic groups. They present the positions and policies of the party to the masses and express the thoughts and aspirations of the ethnic minorities to the party. It is necessary to plan every aspect of the elementary and advanced training of ethnic minority cadres, with attention to each area of the country, each ethnic group and each sector and trade, to insure that each area and ethnic group has a corps of political, management and scientific-technical cadres who are well suited to the socio-economic goals that have been set and compatible with the characteristics of the area and ethnic group. On this basis, specific plans

and measures must be adopted to gradually make steady progress. The various sectors and localities must inspect and re-examine their corps of cadres and the training, utilization and management of each type cadre of each ethnic group within the locality and sector. From this, they must reach conclusions and draw experience for use in improving their organization and guidance and improving the quality and effectiveness of training.

Creating a pool of persons to be trained as ethnic minority cadres in highland areas, along the border, at remote places in the wilderness, in the Central Highlands and along the Truong Son Mountain Range is a matter of very important significance. The ethnic general schools with boarding facilities, the ethnic youth work-study schools, the worker-farmer supplementary education schools and their army and public security cadet schools, which are types of schools that provide a good pool of persons to be trained as cadres, must be strengthened and developed. The ethnic minority scientific and technical cadres currently working at basic units and within the various sectors also constitute a pool of persons to be trained as leadership cadres and management cadres. Importance must be attached to improving the recruiting of students in ethnic minority areas and utilizing many different forms of elementary and advanced training, such as long and short-term schools and classes, practical training, visits and so forth as best suited to each type cadre and each different occupation. We must consolidate and strengthen the network of schools and classes and the training facilities of the districts, especially those of the provinces. More schools and classes that teach both academic subjects and a trade must be opened within each province in order to promptly meet the requirements of economic and cultural development within the locality. The college preparatory schools in the North and the South must have specific enrollment quotas for each province and each province must have a quota for each ethnic group and area. Visiting and studying the experiences of advanced model units are a very effective form of training for ethnic minority cadres and must become a regular practice. Within the party schools, mass organization schools and state schools, it is necessary to conduct a review of the training of ethnic minority cadres to gain experience and reach conclusions concerning training goals, programs, plans and methods. On this basis, ways must be studied to improve the mode of training so that cadres are able, after spending a period of time studying at school, to solve practical problems that arise within the locality.

We must soon research and amend a number of policies and systems that apply to ethnic minority cadres and lowland cadres working in ethnic minority areas as well as systems and policies that apply to the elementary and advanced training of ethnic minority cadres. In the process of struggling to dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and gradually building and implementing the new mechanism in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums and Political Bureau Resolution 31, the distinction must be made between subsidies and policies that are needed to create the conditions for accelerating and improving the quality and effectiveness of the elementary and advanced training of ethnic minority cadres. In areas in which there is still a serious shortage of cadres, it is necessary to quickly recruit a number of persons for on-the-job training as cadres. At the same time, many cadres must be sent in from other places to help the locality build and strengthen the

movement, build the base and train cadres. Of course, very much importance must be attached to the quality of cadres. Persons appointed as cadres must possess all the necessary qualities and skills, meet the necessary standards and be experienced in mass agitation at these places.

The correct assignment and utilization of cadres must be closely combined with training, managing and forging cadres. Correctly assigning ethnic minority cadres and utilizing them well in conjunction with having them work alongside experienced cadres in order to develop their skills in practice will help them to quickly make progress and mature.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bao cao chinh tri tai Dai hoi IV,"[Political Report at the 4th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 165.
2. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, pp 133-134.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: THE CONGRESS SEASON

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 63-66

[Article by Thanh Thanh]

[Text] Another season of congresses is rapidly approaching for the party organizations on all levels. The Party Central Committee has decided to hold congresses of the various levels beginning in mid-1986 on the basic level in advance of the 6th National Congress of Delegates in late 1986.

Thus, since the last congresses, more than 4 years have passed in the case of the provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central level, more than 2 years have passes in the case of the party organizations of the district, precincts and wards...

Once passed, time never returns! It slips by silently, quietly but also as an unbiased judge, one who demands that our cadres and party members, beginning with the various party committee echelons and leadership cadres, review the past several years--the years since the last congress--and determine which things we have done that have truly benefited the masses, been worthy of their trust and truly been welcomed by them.

Since the last congress, we have gained a considerable amount of experience, experience from successes and efforts deserving of pride and experience from difficulties and shortcomings. Recently, the congress of a number of fraternal parties, especially the 27th Congress of the CPSU, have also given us much food for thought.

There are many jobs that must be performed to prepare for a party organization congress, each of which is important. However, most important is still the need to make very good preparations for the two basic jobs of every congress: the report of the party committee to the party organization congress and the election of the new party organization executive committee.

Making good preparations in these two areas is considered two-thirds of what is required for a successful congress but if these preparations are made in haste, the congress will ultimately be nothing more than a congress in name



only. Because, flowers, speeches and applause do not solve any problems. To us, this experience is never outdated. Rather, it is as much a pressing issue as it has always been.

Many comrades still vividly remember that at some previous party organization congresses, reports were presented which, although rather lengthy, sometimes very lengthy, lacked the necessary contents. They leaned heavily toward recounting achievements, some of which were grossly embellished, but merely glossed over existing problems, over difficulties and shortcomings that should have been presented and thoroughly analyzed in light of the actual situation. There were some reports that did touch upon achievements and strengths as well as shortcomings and weaknesses and did draw lessons and experience. Regrettably, however, these reports were put together on the basis of a formula, one designed to present all the items necessary in a report but did so in a manner lacking in substance. Concisely stated, these reports did not faithfully reflect the situation and failed to clearly analyze the various factors pertaining to leadership and guidance--strengths were not presented as strengths, shortcomings were not presented as shortcomings and useful lessons and experience were not drawn. After the party committee on the upper level contributed its opinions and the lower level debated and amended them, major revisions were made to some of these reports but others remained as they were drafted and were not very "revolutionary."

Recently, a report was presented at a party organization congress in the Soviet Union that has been rated very highly by many persons. This report also confirmed the achievements and advances that have been recorded and made, also pointed out existing problems, weaknesses and shortcomings and also reviewed the work that has been done and drawn lessons and experiences. It was not, however, a report based on a formula. It was a truly interesting report, not dry or bland. In this vivid and highly militant report, specific units and specific persons were praised and commended and units and leadership cadres--including high ranking cadres--were named for criticism and asked to rectify their shortcomings. The report was the report of the Moscow Municipal Party Committee presented by B.N. Yeltsin, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and 1st secretary of the Moscow Municipal Party Committee, at the Congress of the Moscow Municipal Party Organization on 24 January 1986 (at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Yeltsin was elected to serve as an alternate member of the Political Bureau CPSU Central Committee). This report was carried in MOSCOW PRAVDA Newspaper on 25 January 1986 and excerpts were carried in our party's NHAN DAN Newspaper on 18 and 19 February 1986. It can be said that this report was a model of the Bolshevik attitude toward self-criticism and criticism, a model of a work report of an executive committee to a party organization congress. It evokes in us thoughts about a new style, a new method of writing the reports presented at our party organization congresses this time.

At previous party organization congresses, not only were the reports of some party committees a matter concerning which experience must be gained, but even the presentations made by a number of delegates contained things about which something should be said. Some presentations were largely a matter of "protocol," form and achievements and successes recounted at great length. Following a long string of "dear" this person and "dear" that person and after

expressing complete agreement(!) with the report of the party committee, the delegate making the presentation immediately delivered a report on the achievements by his sector or locality in its work, which went on until it came time to "wish the delegates robust health, wish the congress brilliant success."

A party organization congress is the highest leadership body of the party organization and also its most important political activity. It must seriously examine, debate and decide the issues facing the party organization and reflect the intelligence, responsibility and power of a congress, especially with regard to the most urgent and acute problems with which the masses and the party organization are concerned and for which they are awaiting solutions.

Life teaches us: to adopt a correct policy, a correct measure, it is first necessary to bravely take a hard look at the truth, correctly evaluate the situation, correctly assess the state of the economy and society and deeply analyze the factors that led to victories or to setbacks and mistakes. But if we skirt issues, if we are evasive, are afraid to assume responsibility, afraid that prestige will be lost and if we draw a picture that is not real through phrases such as "the situation, generally speaking, is good," "the situation is basically stable," "there are no major problems," "many new factors have emerged," "many fine prospects are on the horizon" and so forth, everything will stay as it was, the situation will remain the same.

Therefore, one matter of decisive importance is the need for party committees to thoroughly adopt the guiding spirit of the Party Secretariat and conduct a good self-criticism and criticism drive on all party committee echelons, within all organizations of the party and the administration and among all cadres and party members, especially leadership cadres, with this drive being made a part of the preparations for the congresses on the various levels of the party. To truly be of value, the reports of the party committees and the presentations by delegates must also be oriented in this direction and not take the same old approach.

At every congress, "human affairs" are always a matter of major importance. Do those who are selected for or elected to the executive committee meet the test of being "a worthy spouse"? Correctly stated, this is a matter for which preparations must be made each year or a few years in advance, especially with regard to key positions. We cannot wait until the water is at our feet to jump, cannot wait until a congress is about to be held to begin looking for and selecting persons.

The difficult aspect of the "human affairs" issue lies in determining "who to remove from" and "who to put on" the party committee. At some recent party organization congresses, a "delicate" situation frequently arose: persons who needed to be removed could not be removed and deserving persons who wanted to be put on the party committee could not be! At the party organization of a certain municipality, after the delegates to the congress warmly applauded the party organization's new executive committee, many complained: how are they ever going to know to whom to assign responsibilities with such an executive committee as this? Such situations can occur again in the course of these

congresses. They must be foreseen in order to prepare thinking as well as organization better in keeping with the guiding spirit of the party.

In its more than one-half century of revolutionary struggle, especially in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, our party has built a large corps of dependable cadres. Many comrades spent time in one prison after another, made enormous contributions to the revolution and are very highly respected by the party organization and the masses. But now many of them are elderly and frail and have begun to display certain limitations. Meanwhile, persons who became cadres during the wars of resistance against France and the United States have steadily grown and matured. Many of them possess knowledge, ability and a certain amount of experience and can gradually meet the requirements of the socialist revolution.

The selection and election of persons to the party organization executive committee cannot be based on repaying a debt of gratitude, on personal feelings, but must be based on the requirements of revolutionary tasks and the realities of the corps of cadres. We must have the highest esteem and respect for those comrades who have devoted their entire lives to the revolutionary cause of the party. Our party and state must establish satisfactory systems and policies concerning these comrades. However, whether or not to elect them to the executive committee of the party organization is another question. Several years ago, it was correct and appropriate for them to hold these positions. Now, however, such is not and should not be the case. This is not to mention the requirement that about one-third of the members of the party committee be replaced with each congress. If one person or another is not removed from the party committee, how can room be made for other persons, how can new persons be introduced? We also should not simply think that all elderly persons should be removed from the party committee. If such were the case, how could succession and continuity be maintained in the building of party committees?

In view of the above, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the guiding thinking of the party: the party organization congresses on the various levels must elect executive committees that are truly capable of providing the leadership needed to complete the tasks set by the congress and must, at the same time, reflect succession and continuity in the building of the party committee. On the basis of insuring that the standards of a party committee member are met and evaluating the work of each person in the recent past, worthy comrades must be selected in accordance with the structural requirements of the party committee. Attention must be given to structuring the party committee in a way that encompasses all three age groups, with an emphasis on sharply increasing the youthfulness of the party committee. In addition to the requirements regarding political qualities and competency, attention must also be given to a person's style of leadership. These requirements have been clearly defined in the Party Secretariat directive on the party organization congresses on the various levels.

The experience of previous party organization congresses reminds us: together with making good preparations in the basic areas mentioned above, the party committees must closely guide the spending of money on the congress. Every effort must be made to avoid waste, ostentatiousness and formalism,

particularly now in view of the large difficulties we face with the economy and standard of living.

First among these expenditures are expenditures on the banquet. Second are the expenditures on gifts and presents. At one place or another, the masses, cadres and party members, including some congress delegates, have voiced legitimate criticism of these expenditures. Some persons say: while we do not know if the party organization congress will resolve any problems, it will be very expensive. Others complain: spending large amounts of money not only on lavish food and drink, but also on gifts and presents only serves to make our existing difficulties worse.

Each congress is a step in the growth of the party organization and our party, in general. We are confident that, with the experience of previous congresses and the close guidance of the Party Central Committee, better preparations will be made for these party organization congresses on the various levels with the aim of achieving the desired results.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD: A DANGEROUS DISEASE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 67-69

[Article by Le Hung]

[Text] There is one dangerous disease, a disease that is not very difficult to diagnose, which is rarely found on medical charts. It is the disease of opportunism. Although a person afflicted with this disease knows his disease better than anyone else, it is truly difficult to visualize the rage that comes over these persons when someone says to their face: you are an "opportunist."

The resolution of the party's 5th National Congress pointed out: "One danger is that some opportunist elements are taking advantage of a time when the party is experiencing difficulties to further their own personal plans. To create internal confusion, they attack leaders and report incorrect information. Some opportunist elements employ flattery, grovel and blow in the wind to try to please one person or another. They speak highly of one person but poorly of another in order to create divisions and factions." (1)

To help to improve the quality of the self-criticism and criticism drive being conducted in preparation for the congresses on the various levels of the party, this article seeks to present some thoughts on this disease in the hope that physicians will begin to record it on medical charts and, ideally, cure persons afflicted with this disease or, failing this, at least prevent opportunists (regardless of the extent of their opportunism and the form that it takes) from infiltrating the leadership agencies of the party and state and the corps of delegates attending the party congresses.

Within an organization of the party or state in which there are opportunist elements, particularly when these elements are in leadership or command positions or control the organization of cadres, the situation is always the same: internally, there are dissension and a lack of confidence in one another; the upper level is blinded by a smoke screen and finds it difficult to assess the real situation; the masses and party members on the lower level are discouraged. Moreover, this lack of confidence in one another gives rise to factionalism; blinded by a smoke screen, the upper level sometimes becomes a base for the activities of opportunist elements; and the masses and party members, once discouraged, become apprehensive, fearful and lose confidence.



Opportunism is a manifestation, a serious manifestation, of individualism and liberalism. Opportunist elements have no proper motives. Rather, their every thought and action is based on their own personal designs. They operate and establish relations on the basis of a principle that is, in essence, the opposite of the ethical principles of the communist. The danger they pose lies in the fact that they make their way through guile, deceit and ambiguity. Found sometimes standing in the rear, sometimes in the middle and sometimes even on the front, they are always "revolutionary" in their public speech and behavior. Sooner or later, opportunist elements are exposed but this takes time and, in more than a few cases, happens only after they have deeply infiltrated and risen to a high position within the organization, especially when the upper level falls into their trap.

In war, opportunist elements emerge less frequently because war is a stern challenge in many areas of life, provides few hiding places for those who are ambiguous and deceitful and makes it easy to distinguish between persons who possess integrity and those who do not. In peace time, especially when many complex changes are occurring in political, economic and social life, opportunist elements are usually more numerous and their activities are more ambitious.

Lenin wrote: "When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget the characteristic features of present day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, amorphousness and illusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both and reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, innocent and pious suggestions, and so forth." (2) Or "...it is difficult to describe opportunists by means of any one formula...opportunists readily accept every formula and just as readily abandon every formula because opportunism means not having any definite and firm principles." (3)

The resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party made the following very correct, general observation: "Factionalism is the main characteristic of opportunism. Opportunists are persons whose ideological views are not based in principle, whose theories, more often than not, are specious and whose actions are pragmatic." (4)

The thoughts of Lenin and our party are a very good tool in helping us to recognize the signs of opportunism.

Is there opportunism within our ranks and, if so, to what extent does it exist and does it exist as a political disease or a political force? The author is not qualified to discuss these questions and has no intention to do so. However, with regard to opportunist elements, it can be said, with no fear of being wrong, that there currently are opportunists of varying degrees engaged in activities of various forms on many levels, within many sectors and at many units.

In recent year, we have talked at great length about combating conservatism and bureaucracy, about combating liberalism and the practice of doing as one

sees fit. But we have said little about fighting individualism, especially about fighting opportunism.

Opportunists have several characteristics in common: they all employ a wide variety of tactics, have many plans and ambitions, are unfaithful and often look for an "umbrella" to protect themselves and seek partners to join with them. In some of their activities, they seek material gains; in some, they seek political gains; in others, they seek both. When praise is necessary, they offer voluminous praise. When criticism is required, they turn into sharp critics. When it is necessary to say that something is correct, they speak in ways that make it so; but if it must be called incorrect, they also have ways of proving it. They look for places where it is easy to make money and find a spot for themselves nearby. They look for places where it is easy to get ahead and make themselves a familiar face there. They know the weaknesses and needs of superiors very well. They also know very well how to ingratiate themselves with persons who must be won over. They know how to be "flexible in application" but can also turn "rigid" and "principled." Generally speaking, they rarely initiate things and are usually only followers. They know when to appear and when to disappear. One point deserving of attention is that opportunist elements are very afraid of self-criticism and criticism. As a result, if they are the head of a unit, you can be sure that it will be difficult for this unit's criticism and self-criticism drive to yield any good results. They will either do everything they can to turn criticism and self-criticism into a "despite numerous problems, the situation is basically good" kind of exercise or they will find a way to get through this activity unscathed like some invisible spirit.

The current economic, political and social situation in our country as well as the state of our thinking and organization seriously demand that cadres and party members be correctly evaluated so that they can be correctly utilized, not just on one level or within one sector, but on all levels and in all sectors, including the basic level. In the evaluation of cadres and party members, the masses are the persons who are most objective, if we know how to gain their participation in this effort.

In view of the tradition of unity, in view of the solid political skills of our party, we are confident that the self-criticism and criticism drive, in particular, and the congresses on the various levels of the party, in general, will produce fine results and create favorable conditions for selecting a corps of good leaders and managers who are "loyal, forthright and not opportunist"(5)--which is the decisive prerequisite to organizing the successful implementation of the party's resolutions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Van kien Dai hoi V, [Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 65.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, Volume 8, p 476.
3. Ibid., Volume 6, p 239.

4. Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Volume III, p 65.
5. Secretariat directive on the holding of the party organization congresses on the various levels, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 17 March 1986.

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LITERATURE FOR TEENAGERS AND CHILDREN AND THE TRAINING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERATIONS OF TOMORROW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 70-75

[Article by Van Hong]

[Text] Caring for teenagers and children, giving them the very best that we have to give and wanting each generation to be better than the one that preceded it are natural feelings of mankind.

The communists of Vietnam, upholding this humanist tradition and possessing foresight and modern knowledge on the formation of the character, have always considered caring for and educating teenagers and children to be one of their most important tasks. For this reason, the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party stated: "We must mold the new man from the day he is born..."(1)

From the standpoint of the soul, literature and art are considered the best and most effective instrument in caring for and educating teenagers and children. This was confirmed in Council of Ministers' Directive 18-CP dated 30 January 1968: "Culture, literature and art play an important role and are the most effective weapons in teaching politics, ideology and feelings, in elevating the ethics and broadening the knowledge of teenagers and children." These are "one of the best ways to mold fully developed persons." In fact, in the years of childhood, especially during pre-school years, when the consciousness of children is in the process of forming, their thinking is still tottering and they recognize and relate to the outside world primarily through feelings, through imagination, nothing has as strong an impact as songs, stories...

President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our party and state, was also the founder of literature for Vietnamese teenagers and children based on the line of the party. In 1941, he wrote two poems, "Buffalo Boy" and "Appeal to Teenagers and Children" (for many years thereafter, he continued to regularly send letters to and write poetry for teenagers and children).

In 1941, influenced early on by the progressive ideas expressed in the press of the party during the period of the Democratic Front, To Hoai wrote "The Memoirs of An Adventurous Cricket" about a universe without oppression,

without war. This work has been hailed by many generations of children in Vietnam and the world as a contribution to the cultural heritage of mankind. During the early days of the revolution and in the resistance against France, besides To Hoai, a number of other writers, such as Nguyen Huy Tuong, Nguyen Tuan, Nguyen Hong and Nguyen Xuan Sanh, wrote for teenagers and children.

However, due to the limitations imposed by circumstances, by the entrenched feudal attitude of disdain for children, due to crude and immature concepts of revolutionary education and literature...literature for teenagers and children came into being rather slowly and faltered at first.

To correct this situation, the agencies assigned the responsibility for literature for teenagers and children by the party and state took many measures: conducting writing campaigns and holding scientific conferences; awarding prizes; giving these writers priority in terms of emoluments; increasing the number of agencies that publish books and magazines for teenagers and children... These activities and the efforts of writers and poets stimulated marked advances in the writing of literature for teenagers and children during the past few decades. Now, we can happily report its achievements: thousands of published works and many distinguished works that have been reprinted many times, works read by not only children, but adults as well, some of which have been translated and won acclaim overseas.

A corps of persons who write for teenagers and children has formed and developed strongly. Besides such talented writers who write for children from the bottom of their hearts, such as To Hoai, Vo Quang, Pham Ho and Doan Gioi, there is a large and vigorous force of writers who have grown and matured in many different occupations, some of whom wrote works that brought them to the attention of public opinion when they themselves were teenagers or children, such as Tran Dang Khoa, Khanh Chi...

On the basis of the requirement that teenagers and children be educated in accordance with the "five teachings of Uncle Ho" and applying the guideline "play while learning, learn while playing"--the guideline which President Ho encouraged the cadres in charge of teenagers and children to adopt--literature for teenagers and children in the initial stage has taken the correct direction: comprehensive, wholesome, rich and diverse development consistent with these age groups.

In terms of genre, literature for teenagers and children has developed over a broad spectrum: from myths, legends, short stories and novels to plays, poems and so forth.

From the standpoint of subject matter, literature for teenagers and children is broad in scope, not simply confined to subjects in the lives of youngsters. Its subjects range from ancient history to the present day struggle to survive, from the homeland of Vietnam to the horizon of the world, from love of one's fellow countrymen and comrades to friendship among nations, from traditional unselfishness to the spirit of class struggle. However, comprehensive does not mean spread out evenly. Literature for teenagers and children has also focused on the pressing requirements of each age group, delved deeply into a number of issues of central importance and created



distinctive features of the new literature. These features are the topics on President Ho Chi Minh, on the national heroes and first communists, on typical Youth Union and Unit members, on emulation heroes and warriors and on the obedient nieces and nephews of Uncle Ho, the purposes of which are to teach youngsters patriotism, love of the people and the qualities of a communist. It is in these subjects that literature for teenagers and children has sometimes played the vanguard role and its achievements have sparked interesting debates and drawn the attention and interest of society.

Literature for teenagers and children has not only presented to youngsters a wide variety of knowledge from the breadth and depth of history and lessons in *raison d'être* and character, but has also helped to expand their imagination, enrich their souls and elevate their aesthetic tastes.

Literature for teenagers and children can take pride in having made some contributions to molding the spiritual side of the many youngsters who have grown up over the past several decades along the roads of the "three readies," the "five assaults"...and the tens of millions of Unit members who have been "obedient nephews and nieces of Uncle Ho."

However, goodness and beauty are boundless. Although literature for teenagers and children in our country has now come beyond its initial crude state of development, it has only produced a few good and deeply moving works that leave lasting impressions upon the reader. Moreover, circumstances have changed now and the tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland demand that the Vietnamese possess new qualities. On the other hand, the difficulties, problems and mistakes of the early years, sabotage by enemies of all types, the poisons of the neo-colonialist culture...are having negative effects upon youngsters, sometimes quite serious effects. Thus, what must literature for teenagers and children do, which directions should its efforts take in order to actively contribute to the party's strategy of molding the new, socialist man?

The new man is a fully developed person. To insure that this full development, as concretized in the five teachings of Uncle Ho, is achieved, literature for teenagers and children must be expanded in three subject areas: teaching tradition, teaching socialism and teaching science and technology. Each of these areas is a comprehensive field. Here, only a few aspects of each will be emphasized:

1. When drinking water, remember the source. Young readers of today must know and understand, the more the better, their forefathers and their nation. This seemingly simple fact must now be stressed. Because due to many different reasons, there is beginning to emerge among some youngsters an attitude of identifying with foreign countries, belittling their own nation and criticizing their predecessors. Intensifying the teaching of tradition lies at the heart of cultivating patriotism, love of one's fellow countrymen and gratitude to one's predecessors, lies at the heart of building stronger genuine national pride and teaching proletarian internationalism, thereby instilling stable and lasting qualities in Vietnamese man in times fraught with change.

In the teaching of tradition, folk literature plays a major role, especially among children. Many educators in the Soviet Union stress: the more we live in the modern industrial world, the more necessary it is for poetry and legends to be part of the upbringing of teenagers and children, if we do not want their souls to become pragmatic and dry. In recent years, many legends have been the subjects of books for teenagers and children. Besides elaborate versions of legends rich in detail, a good many abridged versions have also been written. Legends are a priceless storehouse. This storehouse, however, is not inexhaustible. The number of distinctive legends of each nation is not many. Therefore, authors of literature for teenagers and children should devote much time and effort to rewriting legends, to developing and creating new genre that retain the character of legends while reflecting the spirit of the times and the author's unique style.

Whereas children have a very strong liking for legends, teenagers, who are dynamic and desire to achieve great things, are very interested in stories about history, about combat. We have produced a number of good works on the nation's history and the resistance against France. However, even though it concluded more than 10 years ago, there continues to be a sparsity of deserving works on the war of resistance against the United States. Readers growing up today did not witness the heroism of our people in the flames of battle and do not have a full appreciation of the magnitude or brilliance of the war. Meanwhile, youngsters bear the consequences of the war and face post-war difficulties every day. The psychology of passivism, of enjoying oneself, of fearing hardships shows signs of spreading, and there is the fear that this tendency will corrode the souls of youngsters. It is the responsibility of writers, particularly those who "cut across the Truong Son Mountain Range to save the country," to recreate through their works that glorious period in our history and nurture within youngsters the sacred flames of patriotism and Vietnamese revolutionary heroism. It has come time to write fuller and deeper works on the realities of the war. We must write not only about victories, but also about defeats and mistakes. We must not only direct our efforts toward noble, shining actions, but also evoke feelings of deep humanism, sympathy and unselfishness, faithfulness and thoughtfulness, cultivate the quality of being moved by beauty... It is also necessary to depict the war as a monumental labor in which enduring hardships and working with determination and creativity were the principal, everyday manifestations of heroism. In summary, it is necessary to realistically recreate the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and to do so, of course, from a standpoint, a perspective and by means of an approach that are suited to teenagers and children.

2. Teaching tradition makes an important contribution to molding the new man. However, the new, socialist man is molded primarily through the realities of socialist construction. Now, more than ever before, literature for teenagers and children must devote substantial effort to bringing to youngsters pictures of socialist construction at worksites and state farms, in industrial zones and rural areas...with the aims of teaching them love of labor and the concept of collectivism and cultivating within them confidence in the future and the desire to make contributions. On the other hand, light attention cannot be given to familiar subjects, such as relations within the family and school, relations with friends and so forth, among which the focus must be the

activities of the Unit and the socialist school. Writing extensively on the topic of the socialist school gives literature for teenagers and children a more immediate realism. Here, youngsters are not only eyewitnesses and narrators, but are also the main characters who play positive roles in activities in which they engage to make themselves new persons.

Teenagers and children like to copy models and follow examples. It is thus entirely correct for literature for teenagers and children to give attention to describing heroes, describing noble personalities. However, it is also necessary to describe the beauty in ordinary persons, in the persons near to and around youngsters while not avoiding the need to analyze, dissect and denounce negative, ugly phenomena from a perspective that is clear and pure. Youngsters must be taught to distinguish and detest that which is ugly and negative. They must be helped to gradually adopt a serious approach to reality so that they can avoid having to make sudden changes when they mature. Besides themes of broad social significance, it is necessary to thoroughly teach youngsters about their responsibilities and obligations to the family, about respect for their parents, for their older brothers and sisters, for those persons who raise and educate them. It is also necessary to stress the need to teach youngsters the sense of organization and discipline, the concept of protecting public property and the cultured way of life, teach them to obey adults, respect the elderly, protect little children and feel sympathy and affection for the unfortunate. These are the virtues which are needed to give youngsters the ability to protect themselves and resist the liberalism and disorganization of the small-scale producer and the breakdown of ethics, which is posing an increasing threat.

3. The readers of today will be the citizens of the 21st century. The backwardness of our children in the midst of the strong development of science and the information explosion is truly disheartening. Literature for teenagers and children must awaken in youngsters a need, a thirst for scientific knowledge, for working to make contributions by means of science. The quantity of knowledge disseminated through literature might not be very large, but it is enough to equip youngsters with a scientific method of thinking, the method of dialectical materialism, so that they can struggle against ways of thinking that are metaphysical, empirical, subjective, superstitious and so forth. To develop this theme, it is necessary to write extensively on science and write many stories about famous persons and futuristic science. But this is not all that should be done. All topics and genre--the historical narrative and short novel, stories about revolutionary soldiers, emulation heroes and warriors and so forth--must present an example of learning, an example of developing oneself physically and mentally. Why do we not write about Tue Tinh and Admiral Lan Ong, about Nguyen Du and Le Quy Don besides the Trung Sisters and Tran Hung Dao. In terms of things more recent, we should praise the examples of learning and developing oneself that have been set by youngsters themselves as has been done in the books on Nguyen Ngoc Ky, Hoan Xuan Tu, Dang Thai Son and other. There should be a "science" newspaper for youngsters and a corner "for youngsters who love science" in the Sunday editions of daily newspapers. These must be both useful and interesting so that youngsters can, in the teaching of Uncle Ho, "learn while playing, play while learning."

The suggestions presented above stem from a desire for literature for teenagers and children to move closer to the realities of life and the requirement of molding the new, socialist man. In literature for teenagers and children, due to its special characteristics, forms other than those used to reflect life today still exist, such as the myth, the children's story, the fairy tale and so forth. The substance and form of these genre must be viewed through symbolism and imagery. And, here, more than in any other genre, the "closeness" of the theme, of the thinking expressed to reality is more important than "closeness" in terms of the subject. On the other hand, "closeness to reality" must also be viewed from many different perspectives: closeness to the lines and policies of the party, to revolutionary movements, to educational requirements and, in particular, to the psychology and tastes of teenagers and children.

But what is written must not only be "close" to reality, it must be good as well. Endeavoring to constantly produce good works in each genre and on each topic is the pressing requirement of literature for teenagers and children, a requirement that demands hard work on the part of authors. We must resist the simplistic notion that writing for teenagers and children involves narrowing the scope of subjects and reducing the level of one's thinking as though we were bending down to the child's level and imitating the way children speak. In fact, a genuine literary work for teenagers and children requires the kind of approach described by the French communist writer Pierre Gamara: "When we shift from writing for adults to writing for children, matters do not become simpler, less interesting or shorter. To the contrary, they become more precise and complex."(2)

Writing for teenagers and children is truly difficult. This point has been made by many veteran writers. For authors who write for teenagers and children, the need to develop themselves and learn more is never ending. They must be armed with the lines and policies of the party, with knowledge of many specialized fields: education, psychology, ethics, aesthetics and so forth.

Supporting and assisting the corps of authors who write for teenagers and children must be given more attention by society, especially by the concerned organizations, such as the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnam Writers Association... In particular, researchers and critics must devote much more time and effort to literature written for youngsters. It can be said that compared to the writing of works for teenagers and children, the theory on literature for teenagers and children has developed quite slowly. There are as many questions to be answered concerning literature for teenagers and children as there are concerning literature for adults. Yet, how many research projects have been conducted in this area? Works of value and questions in need of discussion are generally forgotten!

It is my hope that someday soon we will publish a LITERATURE FOR TEENAGERS AND CHILDREN REVIEW which would encompass literary works, theory and criticism and not only be dedicated to children, but also bring together everyone who is concerned with literature for teenagers and children and wants to serve them through literature. Perhaps it has also come time to establish an

organization for literary and art activists who serve teenagers and children, an organization with the purposes of advancing the profession and broadening our international cooperation.

When he bade us farewell, Uncle Ho instructed us: "Training the revolutionary generations of tomorrow is very important and very necessary work."

It is "very important and very necessary" because it serves our "interests 100 years from now," serves long-range interests. However, it also serves immediate interests. The tens of millions of laborers in our country today would surely feel more secure and enthusiastic knowing that their children are being cared for thoroughly. And children themselves, are they not "small persons who perform small deeds" to help build socialism?

Therefore, acting in the interests of teenagers and children is acting in the interest of the fatherland, of socialism, acting in the interest of today and the long-range future. It is hoped that writers and poets will devote the full measure of their spirit to writing some of the most beautiful pages ever written. And how great their glory will be if youngsters carry these pages with them throughout their lives and pass them on from generation to the next.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Nghị quyết Đại hội IV," [Resolution of the 4th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 29.
2. Vu Ngoc Binh in "Đời đời tam đa," Kim Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, p 71.

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## BUILDING CULTURAL LIFE WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 76-81

[Article by Tien Hai]

[Text] Building cultural life within the district is an important and large part of building the district. Today, following a process of experimentation, we have defined the basic elements involved in building the district or have, in other words, established a relatively clear district model: building an appropriate economic structure, the backbone of which is the agro-industrial structure; building the economy in conjunction with organizing the material and cultural lives of the people well, molding the new man and building the new, socialist countryside; and maintaining strong security and national defense. Only by building the district on the basis of such a model is it possible for the district to become a solid fortress in the work of building and defending the fatherland. Because, the three tasks of building and developing the economy, building cultural life and maintaining security and national defense that make up the building of the district are three tasks that are dialectically related to one another. These tasks have a positive impact upon one another. One task is both the cause and effect of another and vice versa. The resolution of the 7th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee on building the district and strengthening the district level pointed out: "Economic development must be carried out in conjunction with organizing the material and cultural lives of the people well, molding the new man, building the new, socialist countryside and maintaining strong security and national defense at each basic unit and within the scope of the district."

From an economic standpoint, the purpose of building an agro-industrial structure within the district is to create a new system of production. At the same time, it also has the purpose of creating a new material base for cultural life within the district. Moreover, the new economic structure within the district, once established, will have the effects of developing production, raising labor productivity, creating a new material life and establishing sources of capital needed to build cultural projects, thereby enabling the masses to participate in cultural activities and both enjoy and create culture.

From the standpoint of culture, as understood in its broad sense, building cultural life within the district also includes building the economy, because,

the cultural life of man consists of two entities: material culture and spiritual culture. Building cultural life within the district directly contributes to the creation of new production forces while strengthening the new production relations, abolishing the old and building the new in the field of social life within the district. Understood in its narrow sense, that is, as spiritual culture, it also demands economic construction. Because, to raise the overall standards of the people, to create the conditions for the people to participate in the creation of culture, to abolish the cultural differences between the cities and the countryside...economic development must be carried out at the same time as cultural development. Le Duan said: "Economic strength cannot be separated from cultural strength, from the strength of man, and the strength of culture, of man must be embodied in economic strength. To separate the economy from culture and man is to fail to grasp the laws of economic and social development." (1) Therefore, economic development absolutely must proceed hand in hand with cultural development and vice versa.

The same applies to the relationship between the tasks of developing the economy and building cultural life within the district and the task of maintaining security and national defense. Only when the economy and culture develop strongly are security and national defense guaranteed. Conversely, only when security and national defense are firmly maintained can economic and cultural achievements be maintained and preserved.

Today, the realities of building the district show that the district is the most appropriate and convenient base for reorganizing social production, combining agriculture with industry, combining the economy with national defense and reorganizing and redistributing labor. The district is also the most appropriate and convenient base for organizing the material and cultural lives of the people. In summary, the district is the most appropriate and convenient base for simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in the countryside. The important significance of building cultural life within the district lies therein.

Building cultural life within the district is not only a factor that stimulates economic development and helps to maintain security and national defense, but also directly involves waging the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the field of culture and literature-art.

The struggle between the two paths in the period of transition to socialism in our country is a bitter and complex struggle in all areas of the economy, politics, military affairs, culture and society. In the field of culture, this struggle is especially complex. Vestiges of the thinking and culture of colonialism, both old-style and new, and feudalism still persist in the consciousness of a good many persons. At some places, the new has triumphed over the old. However, at other places, the old has re-established itself and sometimes overpowered the new. At times, the new has prevailed over the old. But, at other times, the old has virtually triumphed over the new. The new and the old stand side by side and are locked in bitter struggle every hour of every day. If the new culture, if the new and the progressive do not occupy a position, this position will immediately be taken by factors of non-socialist culture, by the old, the backward and the reactionary. This struggle is

taking place every hour of every day at every place in our country. The district is the level that directly guides basic units. Therefore, the district must lead and guide this struggle well. If all basic units in all districts build and develop a new, socialist culture well, non-socialist culture will have no base upon which to exist.

Building cultural life within the scope of the district also involves directly expanding the cultural intercourse among the basic units within the district and between the district itself and the other localities within the province and throughout the country so that culture on the basic level is no longer restricted to the colonial and feudal system as it once was. As a result, every basic unit, every village can learn the very best attributes of culture at other basic units, in other villages and, on this basis, develop upon the outstanding aspects and eradicate the backward and conservative aspects of its own cultural life.

Due to the reasons cited above, building cultural life within the district has become an objective necessity. As an objective necessity, it cannot be given light attention, cannot be ignored.

The specifics involved in building cultural life within the district are very broad and very diverse. Correctly and fully understanding this is very important. From the experience of a number of localities, we can group the specifics involved in building cultural life within the district under the following several points:

1. The activities of the mass media: the culture and information organizations within the district must undertake the responsibilities of promptly and effectively propagandizing and disseminating the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the basic elements of the lines and policies of our party and state, especially the policies of the local party organization and administration, among the people of the entire district; promptly reporting current domestic, local and international political, economic and military news; promptly disseminating basic knowledge of science-technology, economic management and social management; and organizing the distribution of party press materials to basic units while adopting plans to guide everyone in reading them well. Today, the mass media have developed very strongly. Everything that occurs at home and in the world is very quickly reported everywhere. The culture-information organizations in the district must know how to select news, how to educate, direct and regulate public opinion in order to create a wholesome cultural atmosphere within the locality.

2. Literary and art activities: within the district, literary and art activities must take two directions: introducing the high achievements of literature and art to the masses and creating the conditions for the masses to enjoy high cultural values while encouraging and arranging for the masses to participate in the creation of literature and art. To achieve these ends, it is necessary to arrange for the people at all basic units within the district to view films, listen to music, attend art performances, read literary works and so forth. The district must insure that its locality has many different types of literary and art activities so that everyone in every age group, occupation and residential area can satisfy his or her preferences and the

district can teach and elevate the literary and art tastes of the masses and establish their right of ownership from the standpoint of enjoying and creating art.

3. Establishing the new, socialist way of life among the district's population: the way of life is given concrete expression in how individuals treat one another in social relations. Generalizing the various categories of social behavior, defining them in the form of rules and, on this basis, establishing a system of protocols to serve as the compass guiding the behavior and actions of individuals are matters of basic importance in establishing the new, socialist way of life. Within the district, efforts to establish the new, socialist way of life should be restricted to the framework of such specific jobs as propagandizing and agitating among the people to observe the rules and customs concerning weddings and the rules of behavior and social interaction; molding aesthetic tastes from the standpoint of the style of dress and style of life at public places; building the socialist labor emulation movement and the "family of the new culture" movement; eradicating corrupt customs, superstitious beliefs and practices and all other negative phenomena in social life...

4. Teaching national traditions and revolutionary traditions to all the people, especially the young generation: every locality and district has written glorious pages in our nation's history of building and defending the country. These pages have become fine traditions that must be nurtured, respected, carried on and developed upon in order to turn them into material and spiritual strengths of the broad masses in the current stage of the revolution. This is the common work of our entire party and all our people, not simply the work of one sector or organization. Everyone in the district, especially the young generation, must be given a full understanding of the traditions of our nation and party, in general, and the traditions of the locality and local party organization, in particular. In this way, strong confidence and legitimate pride in the nation, the party and the locality can be cultivated.

In order for the building of cultural life within the district to produce good results, it must first be given appropriate attention by the local party committee and administration. It is also necessary to build and strengthen the apparatus of the culture and information organization from the basic to the district levels, build the culture and information movement, build material-technical bases for culture and information activities... These are indispensable factors.

In the work of building and strengthening the apparatus of the culture-information organization, it is first necessary to strengthen the district culture-information office. Because, this office serves as the main staff assisting the party committee and people's committee of the district in formulating the guidelines, tasks and requirements of cultural and information work during each period of time; drafting culture-information directives and plans within the district; guiding and organizing the implementation of these directives and plans once they have been approved; and planning the construction of culture-information projects. As a general guideline, the culture-information office of the district should be streamlined and have a

staff of appropriate size but work with high efficiency. The cadres of the office must meet the following standards: they must be reliable in terms of their politics and thinking; be well versed in their profession and special field; possess revolutionary qualities and virtues; and know how to organize and mobilize the masses.

The culture-information units in the district, such as the mobile movie unit, the mobile information unit, the people's bookstore, the cultural center, the library and so forth, must be developed. Depending upon needs, the staffs of these units can be increased because these are units that directly serve the broad masses, support the political tasks of the party and meet the cultural and spiritual needs of the people.

In all villages within the district, culture-information sections must be established in keeping with the spirit of Council of Ministers' Resolution 159 HDBT on work in the field of culture and information to assist the village people's committee in formulating activity plans and managing the work of building cultural life throughout the village. Such culture-information organizations as the information unit, the literary-art unit and the library or reading room of the village should be closely tied to the cooperative and base their operations on the cooperative. This will insure that their activities closely support production tasks and that they have the material conditions needed for their activities.

In conjunction with building and organizing the apparatus, urgent steps must be taken to train cadres for culture-information work on the district level. These cadres consist of two types: management cadres and specialized, professional cadres. To correct the problem currently being encountered with culture-information cadres in the district, namely, the shortage of these cadres and their poor qualifications, especially in terms of specialized and professional standards, districts must, with the assistance of the central level and the province, primarily train local cadres. This training must always be based on the requirements of cultural development within the locality.

Building and organizing the apparatus and training the corps of cadres must go hand in hand with building the movement, building material-technical bases and supplying special purpose equipment and materials needed for activities to be expanded. These three factors constitute an indispensable entity in the building of cultural life within the district.

Mass movements are an important factor in insuring that culture-information activities within the district yield good results. Mass movements are also the measurement of the quality of culture-information activities within the district. The experience of many places has shown the more culture-information activities become mass movements, the more practical is the effect they have in improving the cultural and spiritual lives of the people and the more competently they support the political tasks of the locality. In guiding the development of movement, it is necessary to determine which force is the key force in each movement so that plans can be adopted to build and appropriately expand this force. For example, in the movement to establish the new way of life and eradicate corrupt customs and superstitious beliefs



and practices, the central force must be youths. In the movement to build "families of the new culture," the central force must be women...

Efforts to build cultural life within the district can only produce good results when there are enough material-technical bases and special purpose equipment and materials to expand activities. For example, to develop the movement to read and work in accordance with revolutionary books and newspapers, it is necessary to have, at the very minimum, books and newspapers and a library or reading room. To organize an evening of cultural entertainment, it is necessary to have, at the very minimum, musical instruments, makeup and so forth, not to mention a stage, screen, loudspeakers...

In view of the fact that our country's economy is still poor, when building material-technical bases and supplying special purpose equipment and materials for culture-information activities, it is necessary, in addition to relying upon investments by the state, to also rely upon the people, to tap the collective intelligence of the people, make full use of local materials and remodel existing projects for use as culture-information projects serving the masses.

Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," many districts have taken some very creative approaches in the building of material-technical bases for culture-information activities. Tam Ky District in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province has adopted the policy that cadres who leave must contribute one day's salary to the construction of the district museum. The museum and library of Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province were constructed using materials contributed by the people. Dong Hung District in Thai Binh Province has taken the innovative approach of mobilizing the people to contribute socialist labor to the construction of the cultural center. Thu Duc District in Ho Chi Minh City has remodeled an old hall into a relatively large cultural center. The Song Lo District Cultural Center in Vinh Phu Province was developed primarily by remodeling and utilizing old facilities.

In the building of material-technical bases for culture-information activities in the district, priority should be given to building a relatively complete district cultural complex consisting of such facilities as a cultural center, a club, a movie house or outdoor movie theater, a bookstore, a photography studio, a library and so forth, because, this complex is the place that guides and manages culture-information activities throughout the district, the place that trains culture-information cadres for basic units and the place where the conditions needed to satisfy the cultural needs of the people are concentrated. It is also the center for cultural intercourse among the basic units and different strata of people within the district.

In addition to the district cultural center complex, attention must be given to building material-technical bases for the village cultural clusters. Facts show that the cultural activities conducted within the cultural complex in the district seat cannot reach all villages within the district, especially in the case of the mountain districts and the districts within the Mekong Delta, which are quite large and where travel is very difficult. According to investigations conducted in a number of districts, the number of hours spent

by the people who live in the district town and villages near the district seat attending cultural performances, viewing films, listening to the radio and reading books and newspaper is three to four times greater, sometimes even five to six times greater, than in the villages far from the district seat. To correct this situation, many districts have taken the position that the building of village cultural clusters must be closely linked to the economic-population-technical clusters. Nghia Binh Province, Thu Duc District in Ho Chi Minh City and Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province are places that have much experience in building village cultural clusters. With village cultural clusters operating around the district cultural complex, Thu Duc District has established a complete cultural network: the district-the village cluster-the village (from top to bottom) and, conversely, the village-the village cluster-the district (from bottom to top).

During the past several years, despite very many difficulties with the economy and in everyday life, gratifying results have been achieved in the building of cultural life within the district:

Most deserving of attention is the fact that practically all party committees and administrations of the provinces and municipalities have appropriately concerned themselves with this work. Many provinces and municipalities have issued resolutions or directives on building cultural life within the district.

Many district party committees and people's committees, having gained a correct awareness of the important role and position of this work, clearly understand the specifics involved in these activities and the jobs that must be performed. As a result, many good models of cultural life within the district have come into being, such as Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, Hung Ha District in Thai Binh Province, Thu Duc District in Ho Chi Minh City, An Nhon District in Nghia Binh Province, Dac To District in Gia Lai-Kontum Province, Thot Not District in Hau Giang Province... The most representative of these are the two districts of Hai Hau and Thu Duc. Both of these districts have established a relatively highly developed cultural life for the people throughout the district and caused culture-information activities to have a major impact upon production and security-national defense.

Many districts have build district cultural complexes complete with all the facilities needed to conduct regularly scheduled activities. Culture-information organizations on the district level have been strengthened through the assignment to them of additional competent cadres who possess good qualities. A rather complete culture-information network extending from the district to the basic levels has been established in a good many districts. As of the end of 1985, in addition to the provincial and municipal cultural centers, we have 164 precinct, ward and district cultural centers and more than 2,000 subward and village cultural centers. These figures show that attention is being given to intensifying the building of cultural life within the district.

However, in the recent past, the building of cultural life within the district has not developed widely or uniformly in all districts of the country. This has led to differences, sometimes very large differences, among the districts in all areas: organization, movements, material bases and efficiency.

We are confident that the situation described above will be corrected in the years ahead.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te," [Firmly Adhering to Laws, Revamping Our Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9-1984, p 30.

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## THE LAM THAO SUPERPHOSPHATE PLANT--AN HEROIC FACTORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 82-85

[Article by Hoang Cong]

[Text] For 23 continuous years of production, construction and growth, the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant has received a deserving honor awarded by the state: the title Heroic Labor Unit. For more than 2 decades, overcoming every difficulty under all kinds of circumstances, in peace time as well as war time, the factory has always excellently completed its task: producing millions of tons of fertilizer, hundreds of thousands of tons of acid and thousands of tons of other chemicals for the country, such as pesticides, synthetic laundry power, etc.

Constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union and put into production in June 1962, the plant had an initial capacity of 100,000 tons of acid and 400,000 tons of superphosphate per year. Having been expanded twice, the plant now produces three times as much acid and three times as much superphosphate.

As a chemical plant that operates with high productivity, quality and economic efficiency, a plant that always meets and exceeds output quotas, a plant that has contributed increasing profits to the state with each passing year, a plant that maintains strict labor discipline and management procedures, a plant that always concerns itself with improving the living conditions of cadres and manual workers, a plant that has carried out production while building material bases, building a strong, solid and united corps...the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant is worthy of being one of the bright examples of our country's industrial sector.

Maintaining strict labor discipline, maintaining regular management procedures and improving its management in all areas are the factors of foremost importance in the large achievements recorded by the plant.

As a chemical plant that operates 24 hours a day under strict technical operating regulations, strict labor safety regulations and strict environmental sanitation regulations, the slightest mistake along the production line can affect the productivity and quality of the entire plant, cause tens of thousands of dong in losses and sometimes have a major effect

upon the health and life of workers. Therefore, since the day it first went into operation, the plant has given its attention to maintaining strict labor discipline, maintaining management procedures, fully implementing technical regulations, standards and codes, etc.

Within each shop, everyone from workers' helpers to supervisors has received basic instructions in every aspect of their task, including its relationship to the tasks performed by other persons, the scope of the work of which they are in charge and their specific authority and responsibility; basic instructions in necessary technical knowledge and labor safety; basic instructions in the procedures for turning operations over to the next shift, etc. Every management office, section and cadre is also governed by separate regulations on their task, their relationship with the upper and lower levels, their responsibility, etc.

To insure that workers correctly meet technical requirements, the plant has established complete regulations on the operation and maintenance of machinery, the keeping of machine records, product quality, material consumption ceilings, etc. On the one hand, the factory has arranged for each person and each unit, particularly persons new to their trade, to study and learn all regulations related to their work. On the other hand, it has organized a system of inspections from many different perspectives. For example, each machine operator must keep a technical log and report the results of his work to the person in charge after each shift. Each shift inspects the work of the shift that preceded it. One unit inspects the work of another. The plant has inspection units that conduct both scheduled and unscheduled inspections. The party organization has a monthly inspection program. The director sets aside time to personally hear reports on the situation from each person. To insure full compliance with the procedures and policies of the state and avoid the practice of persons doing as they see fit on jobs, the director, party committee and trade union draft regulations on the hiring of labor, the delivery of products, the action to be taken in cases involving violations of socialist property, violations of labor discipline, technical discipline and so forth and present them to the congress of manual workers and civil servants for adoption. Everyone must work in accordance with regulations. Inspections, supervision and decisions concerning praise, awards or disciplinary action are based on regulations. Regularly inspecting and keeping good records on compliance with labor management and technical management regulations have helped to insure that decisions concerning awards, penalties, raises and promotions are fair and correct.

Periodically, the plant makes improvements to its management procedures and revises regulations to bring them in line with changes in the objective circumstances and production conditions of the plant, the ultimate objective being to complete the plan with increasingly high efficiency, productivity and quality. By waging a determined internal struggle in its everyday production, by arranging for cadres and workers to receive instruction and by seriously dealing with violations of discipline and management regulations, the plant has gradually cultivated in its cadres and workers the habit of consciously complying with the plants regulations. This has helped to increase the utilization of machine capacity and avoid regrettable technical problems. It has also helped to raise the labor productivity of the entire plant. In



recent years, besides its main production plan, the plant has also adopted a subsidiary production plan but never once have supplies or materials been shifted from the main plan to the subsidiary plan. All products, regardless of the source of the materials from which they are made, must meet quality standards and be delivered in exact accordance with state regulations. Products produced through economic ties or joint businesses also carry uniform state prices and are not sold on the outside to take advantage of the price differential. Annual payments to the budget are made in full and on time and exceed norms by the same amount that plan output norms are exceeded.

Truly attaching importance to and delving deeply into science and technology, considering these to be very important measures in achieving high productivity, quality and economic efficiency, reducing the consumption of materials and maintaining safety and industrial sanitation, especially in creating the conditions needed to take the initiative in production, are one of the most important factors in the plant becoming an heroic unit.

The Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant knows how to take the spirit of self-reliance, initiative and creativity of its cadres and workers while offering appropriate material incentive. On the other hand, it quickly introduces the results of research and technical innovations and improvements in production in ways that yield practical returns. During the past 23 years, more than 1,500 innovations resulting in technical improvements and the rationalization of production have been applied, producing savings of nearly 25 million dong (old money). In 1964, only 1 year after it first went into production, the engineers and workers of the plant improved the K39-4 power shovel and raised the output of acid from 60 to 70 tons per day, thereby helping to achieve an output of 135,000 tons of superphosphate per year, 35,000 tons more than the plant's rated capacity.

Following the first phase of expansion (1974), the plant completed the necessary research project and raised acid output from 60,000 to 70,000 tons per year. Today, following the second phase of expansion (1984) and as a result of adhering to technical requirements, superphosphate production line number 2 is operating at rated capacity and acid production line number 2 is operating at 90 percent of capacity.

The plant has also given its attention to researching, designing, manufacturing and installing various types of equipment, machinery and spare parts that would otherwise have to be imported. At present, the factory obtains 80 percent of its spare parts and equipment in this way. As a result, superphosphate production line number one, although its machinery is old and completely depreciated after 23 years of use, is still operating well and significantly contributing to the plant meeting and exceeding its plan.

In the 2 years 1983 and 1984, the plant implemented nearly 200 innovations that resulted in technical improvements and the rationalization of production and applied other technical advances, at a savings of more than 9 million dong (old money). To put superphosphate production line number 2 into operation 6 months earlier than planned, the plant researched and produced 200 tons of azamite adhesive and heat and acid resistant cement, manufactured 400 tons of non-standard equipment and installed more than 1,000 tons of equipment, such

as acid and heat resistant pipelines, a compressed air station, control equipment, a transformer station, etc. The plant also worked with Hanoi Polytechnic College, the Bac Thai School of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and Hanoi Power Tool Factory Number 1 to manufacture a number of necessary parts and promptly support production needs, such as graphite "vong bac" to replace imported "vong bac," crane gears, etc. In view of the country's difficult circumstances, the plant has attached importance to researching the introduction of available domestic raw materials in production to avoid the need to import materials while also researching ways to improve its machinery and standards to be compatible with these types of materials. The plant has achieved success in using sulphur in powdered and lump form to produce superphosphate that meets qualitative standards.

In 1984, in the space of only 3 months, the plant researched and began producing acid from domestic pyrite and acid from sulphur by burning sulphur in a gasifier. As a result of researching and manufacturing equipment and improving its technology and standards in order to use domestic raw materials, the plant has been able to continue to take the initiative in its production.

The Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant not only insures that its products meet qualitative standards, but also gives its attention to researching and manufacturing new products and expanding its product line. Of the plant's eight new products that have been put into industrial scale production, two products have been put under legally binding norms, synthetic laundry powder (3,000 tons per year) and polyphosphate sodium (600 tons per year). These production lines were built using capital acquired by the plant on its own. In addition, the plant also produces 17 other pure chemicals for supply to various industrial sectors. To produce many new products and save tens of millions of dong each year, the plant has attached importance to reducing the consumption of materials per ton of product through the impact of science and technology and has intensified the movement to practice frugality and collect discarded materials and defective products in order to produce new products.

The plant's approach of attaching importance to and delving deeply into science and technology has had a major influence upon its cadre work. This approach has made important contributions to the training of a corps of well qualified cadres and manual workers who display initiative and creativity and feel a close allegiance to the plant. Since the day it was established, even during the war, the plant has continued to further the academic education of its cadres and workers. It has held 15 middle school sessions and trained more than 400 middle level technical workers and cadres in all trades within the plant. It has also conducted three on-the-job college classes and trained 35 engineers, including economic management engineers. Each year, the plant sends persons to attend formal colleges. As a result, 108 persons at the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant have a college education.

The plant has implemented a policy of cadre training and promotions being closely tied to day to day production work. All cadres at the plant today, be they technical management cadres or economic management cadres, have served probationary periods in the various shops, first as workers' helpers and then

as foremen, supervisors, managers and so forth. As a result, this corps of cadres is skilled in manual trades, is knowledgeable, meets technical standards and is skilled in management.

During the past several years, the plant has strengthened its economic ties and joint businesses with localities and production organizations of the state for the purpose of obtaining additional production materials. In 1984, with raw materials supplied by Vinh Phu Province, the plant produced nearly 200 tons of laundry powder for the province. In 1985, with 6,000 tons of pyrite and tens of thousands of tons of transportation capacity provided by Joint Geological Projects Federation Number 3, the plant produced 60,000 tons of superphosphate, 20 percent of its output for the entire year. This is also a new direction being taken by the plant to make full use of its existing production capacity and help to increase its sources of capital in order to meet its needs for investments in intensive development and increase its payments to the budget. Also on this basis, the plant will construct additional material bases and do more to improve the living conditions of cadres and workers. It tries to provide each cadre and worker with an income three times higher than their salary or wage. The plant has been producing its own unbaked bricks to build additional classrooms, child care centers, medical aid stations, meeting halls, workshops and so forth and has constructed thousands of square meters of housing for workers. It has also given its attention to providing jobs within the plant to the sons and daughters of cadres and workers when they reach work age. Due to the concern shown by the plant through such practical efforts, the cadres and workers of the plant engage in production with an even greater sense of security and feel even closer allegiance to the plant.

The awarding of the title Heroic Labor Unit by the state to the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant represents the state's high assessment of the plants comprehensive achievements. Inspired by and proud of this distinguished honor, the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant is making every effort to record even larger achievements.

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## COMBINING AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY AT THE NGA THUY COOPERATIVE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 86-89

[Article by Huu Hanh]

[Text] I. Building an Agriculture of Specialized Farming and Intensive Cultivation

Nga Thuy's soil, which is well suited to rushes, produces high yields of rushes of high quality. Prior to 1965, the policies on rushes were not specific or clear. As a result, the agricultural cooperatives in this area shifted to the production of rice. However, because the soil (alluvial soil deposited by the sea) is contaminated with salt, the rice did not grow well, yields were low and harvests were unstable. Therefore, the grain problem could not be solved in Nga Thuy by raising rice.

Following the merger of the several cooperatives into one, village-size cooperative (1965), Nga Thuy shifted all 160 hectares of its farmland to the cultivation of rushes. In subsequent years, following two phases of sea dike construction, Nga Thuy was able to put additional land under the cultivation of rushes and now has 223 hectares of rushes. In 10 years of continuously investing in the construction of fields (1965 to 1975), Nga Thuy completely constructed three areas specializing in the production of rushes. By planning and establishing these three specialized farming areas, Nga Thuy is able to spread out the rush harvesting season(1) from May to November and thus reduce the losses caused by not harvesting fields on time and leaving rushes to rot in fields or become "uncultivated" rushes.

Nga Thuy assigned 780 of the cooperative's 1,615 laborers to the cultivation of rushes (that is, as specializing in agricultural production). The laborers assigned to rush cultivation are primary, able-bodied laborers organized into 10 production units. Each laborer tends 0.55 hectare of rushes and annually produces 3.5 tons of commodity rushes (the equivalent of 25 tons of fresh rushes). In rush production at Nga Thuy, the cooperative implemented product contracts with groups of laborers long ago (not product contracts with individual laborers) and has still achieved a yield of 12.5 tons per hectare and an output of 2,800 tons of commodity rushes per year. Nga Thuy produces the highest rush yields and output in Nga Son District.

In return for the rush products supplied to the state, the Nga Thuy Cooperative annually receives more than 300 kilograms of grain per capita (which does not include the grain received through the trade of handicraft products made from rushes), which provides an adequate supply of grain to each person in Nga Thuy. As a result, grain is no longer competing with rushes in Nga Thuy's fields. Moreover, favorable conditions have been established for developing rush production in depth.

The amount of area under the cultivation of rushes in Nga Thuy has remained stable for many years at 223 hectares. Very little additional land can be opened to cultivation. Therefore, to raise rush output each year, Nga Thuy has concentrated on investing in intensive cultivation in order to raise the yield of rushes each year. In conjunction with inorganic fertilizer, Nga Thuy attaches special importance to fertilizing with very much livestock manure, considering this to be the key in intensive cultivation to raise rush yields. By taking this approach, the rush yields of Nga Thuy have constantly risen: from an average of 11.2 tons per hectare in 1983 to 11.72 tons in 1984 and 12.57 tons in 1985.

Intensive cultivation based on the heavy use of livestock manure produces high yields and rushes of high quality. Moreover, it has also increased the fertility of rush fields and created the conditions for rushes to grow well for many years, the harvesting cycle to be extended over a period of many years and the costs of improving rush fields to be reduced. Some 40 percent of Nga Thuy's rush fields have been harvested continuously for 24 years but still produce increasingly high yields. All remaining fields have been harvested for 12 years or more. As a result, Nga Thuy need only invest in the improvement of 3 to 5 percent of its rush fields each year. At other places, more than 10 percent of the area under the cultivation of rushes must be improved each year. Because, at these other places, after 7 to 10 years of harvesting, yields decline and rushes must be replanted.

Today, the specialized and intensive cultivation of rushes in Nga Thuy produced more than 3.5 million dong (new money) in income for the cooperative in 1985. Thus, the average laborer specializing in rush production at the cooperative creates more than 4,600 dong (new money) in income each year. As a result of the high labor productivity achieved by the laborers specializing in rush production (both in terms of product produced and income), the cooperative has acquired the raw materials and capital needed to strongly develop the rush products trade within each cooperative member household and organize labor in the production of export goods.

## II. Each Household, Each Person Participates in Handicraft Production

Along with the cultivation of rushes, Nga Thuy also produces rush products. Prior to the merger (1965), when the several cooperatives in Nga Thuy were small, they raised rushes but did not produce rush products. The production of rush mats was assigned to a specialized handicraft cooperative. With the cultivation of rushes and the processing of rushes being carried out at separate cooperatives, two-thirds of the rush mat production capacity in Nga Thuy was not being used. Meanwhile, the majority of the rushes raised by Nga Thuy was being sent to other places to be made into rush products for



exportation. During this period, Nga Thuy produced very few exported rush products.

In 1965, Nga Thuy decided to merge all rush growing cooperatives and rush processing cooperatives as one village-size cooperative and do business in both the production of rushes and the processing of rush products.

To specialize in the production of exported rush products, the cooperative had to organize its labor and production in accordance with strict technical standards that would guarantee the output and quality of exported products.

The cooperative has assigned from 600 to 650 young, able-bodied, trained and skilled laborers divided into two production units at the two production shops of the cooperative to such important jobs as dyeing, drying, weaving mats and so forth. The quality of the final products produced meets export standards.

The cooperative has equipped with 600 rush cutting machines and 140 jute cutting machines, which have been turned over to families who have laborers who are weak, subsidiary laborers and agricultural laborers who seek additional work after their normal workday, that are used to perform such jobs as cutting rushes into different patterns, cutting jute thread and so forth for the cooperative. The cooperative has also equipped 350 foot-powered rush cutting machines with electric motors for laborers who are weak and subsidiary laborers so that they can achieve high productivity.

The weaving of jute bags has also been let out on contract to cooperative member families. The finished products are delivered to the cooperative.

Families deliver the products produced under contracts to the cooperative in accordance with a warehouse receiving schedule. This has become established practice and requires no supervision. Separate books are kept on the quantity of each type product produced under contract by families for the cooperative and the amount of payment made.

As a result of the processing of rush products being organized in this manner, each household and each person within the Nga Thuy Cooperative can participate in production. Some 40 percent of the work involved in the production of exported rush products in Nga Thuy is performed by subsidiary laborers within the families of cooperative members. With subsidiary laborers producing semi-finished products under contracts, one primary handicraft laborer at the Nga Thuy Cooperative produces twice as many exported rush products as a laborer specializing in the production of exported rush products at the other cooperatives in Nga Son District. In 1985, the 650 primary laborers engaged in handicraft production at Nga Thuy produced 330,000 square meters of exported rush mats, the equivalent of the labor quota of 847 persons who specialize in the weaving of mats. As a result, Nga Thuy's income from handicraft production was 3,659,000 dong (new money) in 1985 (of which the primary portion, 3,112,000 dong, was produced through exports), or more than 50 percent of the total value of the cooperative's income from agriculture and industry (7,279,000 in new money).

### III. Achieving Higher Production Efficiency in Agriculture and Industry at the Cooperative

The combining of agriculture and industry at Nga Thuy has been tested over many years, produced good results and been established as the course of development of the cooperative. At present, however, Nga Thuy is encountering many difficulties that must gradually be resolved in order to achieve higher efficiency in agricultural and industrial production with a view toward rapidly developing the economic forces of the cooperative and continuously improving the living conditions of its members.

Nga Thuy has experience in achieving high rush yields through intensive cultivation. However, harvesting, which consists of cutting, splitting and drying rushes, is still done by very strenuous manual labor, labor productivity is low and harvesting is totally dependent upon the weather. The cooperative has adopted the policy of mechanizing some aspects of the harvesting of rushes. The use of rush cutting machines will reduce the intensity of labor and raise labor productivity many times compared to cutting rushes by hand. The use of electric powered rush splitting machines will raise productivity 20 times compared to splitting rushes by hand. Building electric drying ovens (Nga Thuy is served by the power network) will make it possible to dry rushes for use as raw materials day and night. Mechanizing harvesting in these ways will produce a high yield and output of high quality rushes for use as raw materials and, as a result, raise the efficiency of rush production. The more the labor productivity of rush growers is raised, the better able the Nga Thuy Cooperative will be to shift more agricultural labor to the production of rush products for exportation and raise their income compared to what they earned as agricultural laborers. At the current level of production, one laborer engaged in the production of rush products for exportation at Nga Thuy creates more than 5,600 dong in income while one agricultural laborer only creates 4,600 dong (in new money) per year. At present, Nga Thuy is only using about 40 percent of the rushes produced by the cooperative to make exported rush products. However, the income from exported rush products is much higher than the annual income of the cooperative's entire agricultural sector. Nga Thuy has production experience and large sources of raw materials. All that is needed is to shift much agricultural labor to the production of rush products for exportation in order to rapidly bring prosperity to the cooperative. This is entirely capable of being done if some aspects of harvesting are mechanized as presented above.

Many of the types of machinery, supplies and technical materials needed for the mechanization of some aspects of the harvesting of rushes and for the production of exported rush products in Nga Thuy must be purchased with foreign currency. Nga Thuy has requested that it be permitted to use some of the foreign currency revenues from the sale of its exported rush products to purchase the machinery, supplies and equipment needed to develop the cooperative's production. This is an entirely legitimate request. Moreover, it will create the conditions for the cooperative to be more independent and dynamic in its production and business operations.

The gradual mechanization of rush production, in particular, and agricultural production, in general, as well as the widespread use of various types of

machines in the handicraft production of rush products at Nga Thuy and all cooperatives within the district demand very extensive repair services. The Nga Thuy Cooperative as well as every other cooperative in the district are unable to provide these services and must take their machines in need of repair to other districts and provinces, which requires transportation over a long distance, is costly and causes much production time to be lost. Nga Thuy as well as many other cooperatives in Nga Son hope very much that a district level machine repair enterprise will soon be constructed within their district, an enterprise that is fully capable and can promptly meet their machine repair needs.

In addition, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies is still posing many difficulties and obstacles to the development of the cooperative's production and business. Production plan norms and rush product procurement quotas are assigned to the cooperative by the upper level in an undemocratic manner and set at a level very close to the unit's annual production capacity. Consequently, the cooperative does not have surplus products to use in joint businesses and economic ties with other places for the purpose of opening new sources of supplies to develop the cooperative's production and business. The cooperative must deliver its entire output of products to the procurement agency of the state but does not receive a timely or full supply of materials, parts, goods and grain in trade as agreed upon in contracts. The fact that procurements are usually made on credit, with payment not being made for a long time, has adversely affected the production plan of the cooperative and posed difficulties to producers in their marketing activities... Related agencies and the parties that procure products from Nga Thuy must carefully discuss these matters with the cooperative in order to promptly resolve problems that pose the danger of destroying the incentives to develop production, have made the laborer less enthusiastic about production and caused the cooperative to lack the conditions needed to solve problems regarding production and living conditions. Only in this way can the Nga Thuy Cooperative strongly develop its agricultural and industrial production with increasingly high quality and efficiency.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The harvesting of rushes consists of cutting rushes, transporting rushes to the yard, splitting, drying and bundling rushes.

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## PROFOUND SUMMARIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 90-96

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Le]

[Text] Coming at a time when Soviet society and the world situation stand at a turning point, the 27th Congress of the CPSU will forever be remembered as a milestone not only in the history of the glorious CPSU founded and forged by Lenin, but also in the history of the international communist and worker movement, in the history of progressive mankind.

Thoroughly understanding and creatively applying the methodology of dialectical materialism of Marxism-Leninism, the congress deeply and comprehensively analyzed the situation and antagonisms of our times, confirmed the essential trends of our times and pointed out the moving forces of our times. At the same time, it concretized the Leninist foreign policy and line of the party, state and people of the Soviet Union in today's turbulent and complex international situation.

I. The 27th Congress of the CPSU Reviewed the International Situation and International Relations in the Present Age in a Profound, Clear-sighted and Comprehensive Manner

Our age, which began with the great October Revolution, has been a most turbulent age, an age marked by countless social revolutions and national liberation revolutions on all continents. The birth and constant growth of the socialist system, which encompasses dozens of countries, in Europe, Asia and Latin America, together with the winning of independence by roughly 100 countries, which brought about the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, fundamentally changed the comparison of forces between progressive forces and reactionary forces.

Beginning as nothing more than a "spectre" in the mid-19th century, the communist and worker movement has today become the strongest socio-political movement. The working class has shown itself to be the main revolutionary class of our times.

These are plain facts. However, it is also a fact that socialist construction has not been without problems, even mistakes, in one country or another,

including the Soviet Union, the country whose many remarkable achievements have been a source of inspiration.

In the world today, there are more than 100 communist and worker parties. In recent years, many parties have fulfilled their role well and made an impact, have moved constantly forward and increasingly become the factor of foremost importance in the socio-political life of their country. At the same time, some parties are declining. Rightist opportunism, dogmatism, revisionism, chauvinist nationalism and so forth have been and are hurting these parties.

In the national movement, after winning their sovereignty, some countries chose the course of non-capitalist development and are heading in the direction of socialism. Some countries are still wavering at the crossroad. Meanwhile, many other countries are still being controlled by international imperialism through neo-colonialism. Besides the achievements they have recorded in many fields, the developing countries are encountering towering difficulties, difficulties that were either left behind by old-style colonialism or caused by neo-colonialist exploitation.

As for the capitalist world, the scope of their domination has shrunk visibly and gone are the days when the imperialists did whatever they pleased. However, the western capitalist countries still have the potential for economic development. In particular, during the past few decades, as a result of applying scientific and technical advances, the production forces of the imperialist countries have undergone unprecedented development.

Taking advantage of the situations and developments described above, theorists of the international bourgeoisie and their followers have made every effort to distort Marxism-Leninism, boastfully stating that the birth of socialism was "a mistake" of history that must be corrected by the methods they prescribe. In a vain attempt to poison the peoples of all countries, they have given their theories all sorts of labels, from "people's capitalism" and "social-capitalism" to the new world theory, the "theory of convergence," etc. They preach the "omnipotence" of science and technology, as though science and technology can replace social revolution.

Analyzing the world scene today, the 27th Congress of the CPSU observed: "Today's world is very complex, diverse and dynamic, is filled with opposing trends, with contradictions."

Rejecting the assertion by bourgeois theorists that the movement of the world today is "brown movement," that is, chaotic movement, the congress reaffirmed the basic conclusion of Marxism-Leninism that the history of society is a process of logical development. The social liberation revolution, which began with the October Revolution, is defining the face of today's world. The impact of science-technology upon life, regardless of how great this impact might be, cannot take the place of the liberation of man socially and spiritually, which is the prerequisite to man being truly free.



Fully supported by science and brimming with revolutionary optimism, the 27th Congress of the CPSU stressed: "...Regardless of how much larger the objective and manmade difficulties caused by the old world might become, the course of history will not be reversed."

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism and with revised scientific thinking consistent with objective realities, the congress defined the main groups of antagonisms of our times:

From the perspective of the destiny of mankind, the most important group of antagonisms is the antagonisms "associated with the relations among the states of the two different systems, the two different forms."

In a vain attempt to turn back the wheels of history, to rectify what they call the "mistake" of history, the international bourgeoisie has unleashed all sorts of wars (hot war, cold war, economic war, ideological war, psychological war, war to divide and conquer, war through peaceful change and so forth) against the Soviet Union and the socialist system. They have continuously been defeated. However, as the Political Report presented by Gorbachev pointed out: "Due to its social nature, imperialism constantly espouses an aggressive, adventurous policy."

In recent years, imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, in a futile effort to resolve the worsening general crisis it faces, has aggressively intensified its exceedingly dangerous policy of global resistance and military confrontation. They have stepped up the arms race, quickly built up their arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, planned the militarization of space, etc.

In contrast to imperialism, socialism, the goal of which is "everything for man, everything for the happiness of man," maintains the clear policy that we should not and cannot tie man's future to the resolution of international problems by means of military power.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU predicted that the struggle between the two world social systems will continue to be a complex struggle in many fields. At the same time, it clearly defined the factors that will determine the future relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the two world social systems. These factors are: "The comparison of forces in the international arena; the growth and active spirit of the potential for peace; and the ability of this potential to effectively combat the threat of nuclear war."

Taking an objective, realistic view, a view reflecting the humanism of scientific communism, the congress asserted: "Given the fact that nuclear war is totally unacceptable, the only policy that can become law in the relations among countries is the policy of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, not confrontation."

The second group of antagonisms consists of the internal antagonisms of the capitalist world itself. If we only look at some external manifestations, it does seem that capitalism is not in "the throes of death." Because, the

capitalist world still has the potential for economic growth, still holds certain economic, military and political positions and still has the ability to take social revenge on one front or another. It is still capable of winning back one position or another that has slipped from its grip. That "the exploiting world is still strong and dangerous" is a fact. However, this is only one side of the situation. The other side is that the exploiting world "has passed its period of prosperity, the scope of capitalism's rule has continuously shrunk and the inevitability of its historical demise is becoming increasingly obvious." The conflict between production forces that have developed to the point of being huge and production relations that are becoming increasingly centralized within the single mechanism of state monopolistic capitalism is becoming a sharper conflict with each day that passes. The antagonism between manual and mental labor and capital is exceedingly deep. Unemployment stands at the highest level since World War II.

The struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, which reflects the main antagonism within the capitalist countries, is steadily becoming sharper and more complex. International capitalism's increasing reliance upon fascism, militarism, anti-communism and anti-sovietism prove that it has been and is running up against towering social obstacles, that it cannot and does not rely entirely upon governing methods and measures of bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

The uneven development of capitalism has given rise to its own sharp antagonisms. The three large centers of imperialism (the United States, western Europe and Japan) are making every effort to consolidate and strengthen their military and political alliances in order to oppose the socialist countries and independence, freedom and peace loving nations. On the other hand, they are working hard to win markets, investment zones and sources of raw materials and fighting for the lead in science and technology. Thus, sharp antagonisms have developed among the imperialists.

Following the collapse of the colonial system, the imperialist countries established and refined a new and very sophisticated system of neo-colonialist exploitation, one that tightly binds many liberated countries to them. They have devised ways to strip nations that have won their sovereignty of the right to choose their own course. This has been the cause of regional conflicts in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

On the basis of the actual situation that has been and is occurring within capitalism and through scientific analysis, the 27th Congress of the CPSU once again resolutely asserted that no action by the modern capitalist class "can repeal the laws of its development, can eradicate its antagonisms," that "imperialism is capitalism rotten to the core and in the throes of death, is the night before the socialist revolution."

The congress defined another group of antagonisms and, by so doing, made a new observation. They are the antagonisms between the need to preserve and develop civilization, preserve and develop life and the increasing pollution of the environment, the atmosphere and the oceans and the depletion of natural resources; the antagonism between the need to focus efforts on the goal of

"everything for man, everything for the happiness of man" and the unprecedented development of weapons of mass murder; the antagonism between the need to protect culture and the genuine values of man and the attack by the decadent bourgeois practice of placing money above everything else; and the antagonism between the need of the developing countries for strong and comprehensive development and the depletion of resources, frustration over investment capital and towering indebtedness to foreign countries.

These are problems of a global nature. As regards resolving the antagonisms described above, the Political Report presented by Gorbachev at the congress stressed: "The course of history and the progress of society increasingly demand constructive and creative coordination among countries and nations on a worldwide scale."

While defining the groups of antagonisms of our times and showing that imperialism is the main obstacle to the progress of mankind in our age, the congress also pointed out the four principal forces behind social development. They are: world socialism; the international communist and worker movement; the people of the countries that have won their national independence; and democratic movements of a mass nature.

All progressive mankind completely agrees with the observation made by the congress that "the continuous growth and the close coordination of actions of these forces are what guarantee that the hope of nations to live in peace, freedom and happiness will become a reality." The working class, laboring people and all progressive mankind completely agree with the unshakeable confidence expressed by the congress: "Although difficulties, complex problems and contradictions still lie ahead, mankind's advance to socialism and communism cannot be impeded."

## II. The 27th Congress of the CPSU Thoroughly Reviewed the Position, Role and New Style Relations of the Socialist Countries

Evaluating the position, role and impact of the socialist countries, the congress stated: "The establishment of the world socialist system and the formation and strengthening of the socialist community fundamentally changed the comparison of forces in the international arena in the favor of nations struggling for social progress, democracy and national independence."

Placing special emphasis upon the position and role of the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, the congress observed: "The socialist community is the most prestigious force of our times, without which no problem in the world political arena could be solved." The socialist community is "the solid bulwark of wholesomeness, democracy and peace on earth, is the most staunch defender of the principles of wholesomeness, democracy and peace in international relations." The socialist community is "the main force impeding reactionary imperialism."

Although they have committed shortcomings and mistakes that have been difficult to avoid in one stage or another of transforming the old society and building the new, the socialist countries have solved many political and socio-economic problems, problems in the fields of culture, education,

international relations and so forth which the capitalist system has been unable to solve. The congress proved that socialism, having been tested in practice on a worldwide scale, has shown itself to be superior and inspired hundreds of millions of persons to march forward under its banner.

Due to different historical circumstances and many other reasons, there is a natural diversity among the socialist countries. However, diversity does not mean that there are no common denominators. The congress reviewed the common denominators of the socialist countries in the fields of domestic and foreign affairs and the universal laws of development of socialism. They are: a government of the laboring people, in which the working class plays the dominant role; the leadership of a communist party armed with the theory of scientific socialism on social development; the strengthening of the system of social ownership of the primary means of production and, on this basis, the planned development of the economy for the sake of the people's interests; the implementation of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor"; the development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship among all nationalities and races; and protecting the gains of the revolution against sabotage by class enemies.

The review by the congress of the universal laws of the socialist countries was a development of important significance in the field of theory; provided a large amount of practical assistance to the fraternal countries; and served as a useful reminder to the fraternal parties to guard against and correct "leftist" and rightist tendencies in the work of building and developing socialism.

The congress also reviewed the relations among the socialist countries, relations born of the nature of the proletariat, of socialism. These relations have a solid foundation because the socialist countries share a common ideology, Marxist-Leninist ideology, share a common sense of class solidarity, friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in building and defending the new society, are equal and respect one another's independence and sovereignty. The congress especially praised the relations among the countries of the socialist community as having set an example of new style relations, relations that deeply reflect proletarian internationalism.

While praising the new style relations among the socialist countries and the countries within the socialist community, the congress also pointed out that it is necessary to improve the forms and methods employed by the parties and states within the community in their work with one another, promptly resolve disagreements and be vigilant against class enemies scheming to set certain socialist countries against others.

III. The 27th Congress of the CPSU Reviewed the Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Struggle To Safeguard Peace—the Fundamental Task of Our Times

War and peace is the burning issue of our times because it relates not just to a group of countries, to a few regions, but is a global issue, is the issue of preserving life on our planet, the issue of maintaining and developing the civilization of man or destroying it.

The peace strategy and the peace and international security initiatives of the Soviet Union stem from and are closely tied to the nature of Soviet society, the first society of mankind to embark on socialist construction almost 70 years ago. More than 1 century ago, Marx predicted: "...Opposite the old society with its economic suffering and political raving, a new society is emerging, a society whose international principle will be PEACE because, within each nation, everything will be controlled by one principle, that is, LABOR."(1) All the activities of the Soviet state, beginning with the decree on peace issued by Lenin as soon as the Soviet state was born, have consistently and prominently reflected the international principle advanced by Marx. The Platform approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU states: "Socialism proves its superior qualities not through the power of arms, but through the power of examples set in all fields of social life, through the strong development of the economy, science and culture, by raising the standard of living of the worker and strengthening the socialist system of democracy."

To implement the great program for perfecting socialism and advancing to communism, the Soviet Union must have peaceful conditions so that it can build and develop. On the other hand, the peace strategy of the Soviet Union is also based on a fact stated in Gorbachev's Political Report: "It has come time to fully recognize the harsh reality of the present age: nuclear weapons pose the danger of unleashing a storm that could sweep mankind from the earth."

In its proceedings, the congress named the enemy of peace, the one who has started two world wars and is scheming to unleash the third world war--imperialism, which is headed by the U.S. imperialists.

While applauding a number of ruling circles in the imperialist countries for their practicality in the face of the dangerous situation in the world today, the congress pointed out that radical rightists in the imperialist countries, especially in the United States, still cling to centuries' old ways of thinking and acting based on tolerating wars and armed conflicts. More than a few of these persons are "blind in the eyes and blind in the soul as well."

The congress stressed the truth: "For there to be peace, we must struggle, struggle for peace in an active and steadfast manner. We must find and make use of every capability, even the smallest, for stopping the growing threat of war." In other words, we must have a strategy and tactics for struggling to maintain peace.

Displaying a high spirit of responsibility toward preserving life on this planet and displaying communist love for one's fellow man, the congress called for a drastic reduction in the level of military confrontation, mutually assured security based on strategic balance and, most importantly, the complete removal of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass murder from this balance.



The 15 January 1986 statement by CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev has been praised by public opinion throughout the world for having concretized the goals and stages of the great strategy for peace, for life, for the civilization of mankind.

Realistic in its thinking, the congress correctly observed that in today's world fraught with contradictions and with a clear state of antagonism existing between the two world social systems, "the only course that conforms with reason and sentiment, the only acceptable course is peaceful coexistence between countries that have different social systems."

The thinking of peaceful coexistence between the different social systems, which was first advanced by Lenin and has now been developed upon by the congress, encompasses a broad range of factors: political, economic, cultural, scientific-technical, philosophical, etc.

Peaceful coexistence means not starting wars against each other, not intervening in each other's internal affairs and respecting each other's independence and sovereignty. While these things are very important, they do not constitute the full extent of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence also includes the positive, constructive factors of cultivating "good neighborly relations and cooperation, widely exchanging scientific and technical achievements, cultural values..." Thus, peaceful coexistence is in the interest of all countries and nations.

In the spirit of closely linking theory and practice, words and deeds, the congress adopted "The Basis for the Establishment of a Comprehensive International Security System" encompassing the fields of military, political, economic and social affairs. This is a platform of action of a global nature adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU by way of suggesting that governments, parties, organizations, social movements and nations truly concern themselves with the fate of peace on earth with a view toward finding avenues of close and effective cooperation.

Struggling to implement "The Basis for the Establishment of a Comprehensive International Security System" is a widespread campaign of a mass nature, the aims of which are to democratize the current international order and make the consciousness of peaceful coexistence between the different social systems an increasing part of the life of all nations and all peoples.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx: "The 1871 Civil War in France," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 35.

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## WORLD PEACE MUST BE FIRMLY SAFEGUARDED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 86 pp 97-101

[Article by Tran Anh commemorating the 45th anniversary of the start of the Soviet people's great war of national defense against fascism (22 June 1941-22 June 1986)]

[Text] At 0400 hours on 22 June 1941, without any declaration of war, fascist Germany broke its treaty and launched a surprise attack on the Soviet Union. The Soviet people's great war of national defense had begun. The largest battle in the history of mankind occurred on the Soviet-German front, the main battlefield in World War II. When they struck the opening blow against the Soviet Union, the German fascists possessed overwhelming superiority, had experience in war and possessed both economic and military might as a result of assistance received from American and British monopolistic capitalists many years earlier and as a result of having occupied practically every country in Europe. Their plan was to win victory with lightning-like speed and annihilate the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, the bulwark of peace and revolution in the world, the largest "obstacle" standing in the way of the fascists achieving their ambition of becoming the rulers of the world. Not only the command of the German army, but also many political activists and military experts of that day thought that the Soviet Union would not be able to resist for very long. Churchill, the British prime minister at that time, wrote in his memoirs: "It was the assessment of practically all military experts that the Russian army could not avoid defeat and would be annihilated."

This assessment was proven completely incorrect by what occurred on the Soviet-German battlefield. Closely united around the CPSU, all the Soviet people arose to defend their beloved fatherland. The national guerrilla war against German occupying forces developed strongly and was closely coordinated with the operations of the regular army. The combined efforts of the Soviet army and people quickly produced results from the standpoint of overcoming the heavy losses suffered during the first weeks of the war and led to important victories in many areas along the Soviet-German front. In the fierce battle that took place near Smolensk (10 July to 10 September 1941), the Soviet army stopped the assault force of the German fascists, the "Central" core, which was attacking in the direction of Moscow, and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. This was followed by the battle in the outskirts of Moscow that took

place in early December 1941 and was the most important event during the early period of the war. The Soviet Red Army drove the enemy far from Moscow, pushing them back 100 to 350 kilometers to the west. This counter-attack by the Soviet Red Army, which began on 5 December 1941 and extended over a front more than 1,000 kilometers wide, produced the following results: many cities and more than 11,000 other population centers were liberated and the German fascists lost more than 500,000 troops, 1,300 tanks, 2,500 artillery pieces, more than 15,000 trucks and many other pieces of technical equipment. This decisive victory marked the start of a decisive turning point in the war. By defending each bit of soil and continuously launching strong counter-attacks against the enemy, the Soviet army and people won increasingly resounding victories and, step by step, eventually crushed the insane dream of the German fascists.

With the skillful organization and leadership of the CPSU, the stubborn and brave fight waged by the Soviet people, a fight that lasted for 1,418 days and nights, overcame countless difficulties and hardships and concluded in a great victory for the Soviet Union. The Soviet army defeated 607 divisions of the German fascists and their vassals (on the Soviet-German front), pushed the fascist aggressors all the way back to their final stronghold, crushed the Nazis and then wiped out the Kwandong Army, the best main force unit of the Japanese militarists, thus delivering the decisive blow that forced Japan to surrender unconditionally.

The Soviet people had to bear the heaviest burdens, suffer the heaviest losses of life and property in the war to win that great victory. Of the 50 million persons who died on all continents in World War II, 20 million were Soviet citizens. Thousands of cities and towns and tens of thousands of villages, enterprises, farms and production units in the Soviet Union were destroyed by the German fascists.

The just fight of the Soviet people was widely supported from the very outset by the progressive people of the world. Its great victory brought about a major turning point in the world situation, in the course of the revolution and progress in the history of mankind. This victory won by the Soviet Union, the most brilliant victory of all time, not only preserved the beloved Soviet motherland and protected socialism, but also saved mankind from the scourge of fascism and created the conditions for a host of countries in Europe, Asia and Africa to arise and win their independence and freedom. As the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the commemoration of the victory of the Soviet people in the 1941-1945 great war of national defense observed: "The defeat of fascism and the subsequent defeat of militarism had a very profound impact upon the entire course of development of the world. They created favorable conditions for the struggle of the laboring people to achieve national liberation and social emancipation. The positions of progressive, democratic and peace loving forces were consolidated. The influence of communist and worker parties increased. The world socialist system came into being and is successfully developing. The decline of the colonial system of imperialism was accelerated and ended with its collapse."

As the years and months pass by, the magnitude of the feat of arms and the significance of the victory recorded by the Soviet people grow. All

progressive mankind, in general, and we Vietnamese, in particular, are very grateful to the Soviet Union for performing this enormous service. We Vietnamese deeply understand that the victory of the August Revolution in Vietnam and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia, were closely tied to this great victory of the Soviet Union. Only those who are bellicose, only the leaders of imperialism intentionally forget the public statements made by persons in power within imperialist circles at that time, such as U.S. President F. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill and so forth, evaluating and acknowledging the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the victories over German fascism and Japanese militarism. Together with intentionally forgetting, they have distorted and played down the historic significance of this great victory, with a view toward serving their present filthy interests. They even avoid major celebrations of the anniversary of the start of the great patriotic war of the Soviet people and the great victory in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role. Because, they know that these celebrations, which would entail accurately retelling history, would expose every fabrication and false accusation made by the propaganda machinery of the United States and NATO against the Soviet Union, against the peace line and policy of the Soviet Union, would help to stimulate tendencies in the direction of peace and true cooperation in Europe and the world and would give additional impetus to the anti-war movement, the peace movement.

Recalling the heroic fight, the enormous sacrifices and the great victory of the Soviet people in the war of national defense against fascism more than 40 years ago, progressive mankind cannot help but give thought to the danger of nuclear war that now threatens world civilization and even threatens the life of each person in each region on earth.

In recent years, in a vain attempt to win back positions that have been lost, to stop the inevitable process of history, bellicose imperialist powers, headed by the U.S. imperialists, have been aggressively pursuing a most dangerous policy of global counteraction and military confrontation. They have been making every effort to accelerate the arms race, built up their arsenals of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass murder and planned the militarization of space while attempting to achieve military superiority in order to launch a first-strike attack and plunge the Soviet Union and mankind into a cruel, annihilating war. Clearly, the most burning issue today is the anti-war issue, the issue of safeguarding peace. While the Soviet Union has made many peace proposals that conform with both reason and sentiment with a view toward completely and permanently freeing mankind from the threat of nuclear holocaust, the United States continues to intentionally ignore the Soviet Union's sincere appeals and obstinately continues to carry out nuclear weapon tests while forcing allies in western Europe to implement the program for the militarization of space. The primary aim of ruling circles in Washington in intensifying the arms race and carrying out the "star wars" program is to oppose the Soviet Union. By forcing the Soviet Union into an arms race, they hope to prevent the Soviet Union from focusing its full potentials on the strategy for accelerated socio-economic development and thus make it impossible for the Soviet Union to quickly grow in every field. With the aim of camouflaging their evil schemes, the warmongers within ruling circles in the United States are constantly shouting about the so called

"military threat posed by the Soviet Union." The fact of the matter is that everyone clearly knows where the danger of war lies.

As the most glorious victor in World War II and as the country that suffered the heaviest losses in that war, the Soviet Union understands better than anyone else the tragedies of war and deeply sympathizes with the ardent desire of nations for peace. The very character of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is such that they have never tied their future to the resolution of international problems by means of military power nor have they ever threatened anyone. The continuous efforts of the Soviet Union, the peace proposals and initiatives, especially the 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, reflect the Soviet Union's serious attitude and high sense of responsibility toward the destiny of nations. The Soviet Union has explored every possibility and looked for every way to advance the process of detente and has taken various unilateral measures, such as ceasing the deployment of medium-range missiles, reducing the number of weapons and ceasing nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union has held talks with the heads of state or members of the governments of many countries in the world, talks that have included the Soviet-India, Soviet-France and Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, on controlling the arms race, controlling the threat of nuclear war and safeguarding peace. The Soviet Union has also taken positive steps to accelerate the negotiations in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna with the aims of ending the arms race and building trust among countries. Peace is the foremost requirement of creative labor, is the first prerequisite to developing production and creating abundant material and cultural wealth for man, for society to exist and be civilized, thus implementing the basic economic law of socialism. The primary goal of the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU is to enable the Soviet people to work under the conditions of a lasting, stable peace and freedom. Peace is an essential part of socialism.

War is the product of a society divided into classes and of class struggle. It is the product of capitalism, of imperialism, colonialism and fascism. War is closely associated with the exploitative, parasitic, aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism. Imperialism seeks to use war to occupy and seize land, natural resources and markets in order to intensify its exploitation and realize maximum profits. The platform of the 27th Congress of the CPSU stated: "The headquarters of international reactionary powers is U.S. imperialism. The danger of war comes first from the side of U.S. imperialism..." While mankind does not fear them, it must be highly vigilant against the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists. To avoid the tragedy of war and firmly maintain peace, every nation, every person "must struggle, struggle for peace in an active and steadfast manner, must find and make use of every capability, even the smallest, for stopping the growing threat of war before it is too late." At the same time, we must have confidence in our strength, in our ability to prevent a new world war. The platform of the CPSU stated: "Regardless of how much larger the threat to peace from the policies of the imperialist aggressors becomes, a world war need not occur. It is possible to prevent war and save mankind from tragedy. This is the historic mission of socialism, of all progressive and peace loving forces on our planet."



Today's very tense world situation demands that we observe closely, assess correctly and act alertly. Never before has the danger of nuclear war been as serious as it is today. But never before have such large and real capabilities existed for preventing war and safeguarding and strengthening world peace.

These real capabilities include the increasingly strong potentials of peace forces. They include the growth of the economic and national defense forces of the socialist countries and the establishment of a solid military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. They include the positive policies adopted by the majority of nations and countries in the world expressing their wholehearted interest in maintaining peace and ending the arms race. They include the growth of the national liberation movement and the communist and worker movement in the capitalist countries and the anti-war movement of the broad masses on all continents. All these peace forces have been and are continuously attacking imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists. In this common struggle, the forces of peace have a solid base of support, the Soviet Union, the country that made the largest contributions in defeating fascism and militarism, in saving the civilization and future of mankind, the country that today continues to steadfastly and actively wage a tireless struggle for the cause of peace and international security. Through solidarity with the Soviet Union in word and deed, by actively supporting the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, all of which conform with reason and sentiment, and by closely coordinating their activities, the forces of peace will reduce the danger of nuclear war and firmly safeguard world peace.

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## THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S 'IDEOLOGICAL WAR'

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[Article by Phan Lang]

[Text] Only a few weeks after entering the White House (for his second term), Mr. Reagan set forth a number of "urgent policies," one of which was: "Advancing the ideological war against communism to the frontline." Immediately thereafter, the 40th President of the imperialist United States reviewed the budget and allocated a large sum for mass information operations. The Voice of America (VOA) received a two-fold increase in its annual funding, up to 849 million dollars, 6 percent of which is allocated for programs broadcast in Vietnamese.

In addition to putting the machinery under his control into high gear, Mr. Reagan himself has rushed to the "frontline." Former U.S. President Carter and NEW YORK TIMES commentator James Reston observed: "In the past several decades, not one U.S. president has done more than Reagan on the mass information front" and "no U.S. president has spread as much misinformation as Reagan."

Of course, this is not the first time that anti-communist powers have advocated the use of mass information as a weapon in the struggle to resolve the issue "who triumphs over whom" that exists between capitalism, between imperialism and communism. Long ago, Marx observed that the enemy not only criticizes communism and revolutionary movements by means of weapons, but also uses the weapon of criticism against them. However, before the comparison of forces tilted in the favor of the revolution, when the imperialist powers still believed that one nuclear strike in the form of "massive retaliation" was all that was needed to eliminate communism on earth, mass information only played the role of a support weapon, frequently only a tactical weapon.

But today, when Reagan talks about the "ideological war," the term is not used simply to create an image, but carries a definite meaning as well.

Why launch an "ideological war"?

In his recently published book "The Real War," former U.S. President Nixon summarized the situation thusly: "Today, there are 21 countries within the sphere of socialism, of which 7 nations slipped from the free world in the

space of only 5 years following the defeat of the United States in Vietnam." "Many one time bastions of Western support have become boiling cauldrons of anti-Western sentiment overnight." "The situation is the same everywhere, communism is advancing while the West is retreating, and its survival in the 21st century is threatened."

Thus, even the most notorious anti-communist must acknowledge what was pointed out by communists years ago. It is that not only the socialist revolutionary movement, but all three revolutionary currents as well have won victory, have undergone extraordinary growth and are in a powerful offensive position. Today, the banner of socialism flies over all continents, even at the doorstep of the main stronghold, the headquarters of anti-communism--the imperialist United States.

It is against this background that the Reagan administration's "ideological war" was born. It differs from the weapon of information used in past years by anti-communist powers in at least three ways:

Whereas the weapon of information was previously used to support the effort to "win victory" over communism, its first function today is to resist communism, to save imperialism. Whereas the weapon of information was previously used on a tactical level, today it has been elevated to the strategic level, even the level of an independent war. Whereas the weapon of information was previously only directed against the "communist spectre," against the people of the socialist countries, today, in addition to the socialist countries and those nationalist countries that have chosen the path of socialism, the "ideological war" is also aimed at combating the influence of socialism within those nations that are still ruled by or dependent upon imperialism and within the struggle by workers and other progressive strata within the United States and the Western world.

Thus, from the perspective of its nature, scale and targets, the "ideological war" of the Reagan administration is far different from the weapon of information previously used by Western anti-communist powers.

The majority of the "ideological war" effort is devoted to discrediting, distorting, falsely accusing and smearing the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which Reagan slanderously called the "kingdom of evil" and "the center of tragedy in the modern age." While aimed in many different directions, the heaviest firepower in this war is concentrated on the themes of "international terrorism," "totalitarianism" and "the violation of human rights." In the few years that Reagan has been in power, a continuous series of campaigns of this kind has been launched, each continuing and building upon the one that preceded it. There were the campaign of falsely accusing the Soviet Union of using embassy personnel for espionage purposes, a campaign conducted in conjunction with the United States prevailing upon its allies to expel scores of Soviet diplomats; the smear campaign against the Soviet Union over what the United States called the incident of a "Soviet submarine infiltrating and spying on the military bases of a northern European country"; the campaign to "condemn the Soviet Union as inhumane" in the case of the Boeing 707 spy plane that was shot down; the campaign to smear Poland as being "totalitarian" in the case of the Solidarity Trade Union; the campaign of

slander against Vietnam over the issues of "Cambodia," "refugees" and "the brutal treatment of persons who collaborated with the United States during the war"; the campaign of falsely accusing Cuba of "supplying personnel and weapons for international terrorism in Central America and the Caribbean"; the smear campaign against Bulgaria concerning the "plot to assassinate the Pope," etc.

In conjunction with criticizing and discrediting communism, the "ideological war" has also quietly put onto the market an odd product generally referred to as the "third path of development, a non-communist, non-capitalist path" and the so called "nationalist communism" and "regional communism" as opposed to proletarian internationalism.

The entire balance of the "ideological war" effort is devoted to propagandizing and embellishing capitalism and imperialism, to presenting, explaining and defending the major policies being pursued by the U.S. imperialists, most importantly the insane arms race policy. Over the past several years, the mass information apparatus of the United States has used hundreds of thousands of tons of paper and ink and millions of hours of broadcast time to spread the argument of a "limited nuclear war," of "the SDI shield being the best protection against nuclear destruction."

The mass information apparatus of the United States is also used to advertise the "bountiful standard of living," especially the "free and easy" way of life of the Western world along with philosophies that praise to the skies the most extreme bourgeois individualism. "To live is to fully express oneself." "There is no higher purpose in this life than to live for oneself." "Listen not to stories of social struggle, return to yourself, to the stronghold that is the family." "Ideals and ambitions are empty and mean nothing. Money, money, money--this is the only god." "Let yourself go and enjoy the life that has been given to us." These are the refrains that we hear coming everyday from the mass information apparatus of the United States.

The targets of this "ideological war" are each and every stratum of the people in the socialist and nationalist countries as well as in the United States and other capitalist and imperialist countries. But the "prey" that the U.S. mass information apparatus hunts the most and tracks most closely is still the young generation. The following figures should be kept in mind: 70 percent of the mass information activities of the United States are directed toward youths and 70 percent of these activities deal with subjects concerning the standard of living, especially lifestyle. You need not be so old that you must walk with the aid of a cane to see Mr. Reagan's black heart. Not surprisingly, anti-communism has chosen the young generation as the place to make its breakthrough. According to those who are leading and guiding the "ideological war," these are the easiest prey to entice because they are not as set in their ways as the older generation. These persons hope through this war to draw the youths of the Western countries away from the influence of communist ideals, to remove these youths from the political struggle, the public opinion struggle against the bellicose, reactionary policies of the authorities. In the case of the youths of the socialist and nationalist

countries, these persons hope to attract and draw them toward the "free world" and encourage them to pursue the lifestyle of "freedom," pleasure and anarchy, as opposed to collectivism and revolutionary order.

According to anti-communist leaders, it is both "necessary" and "possible" to "advance the ideological war to the frontline." In today's world, with the imperialist and colonialist powers having been driven from the socialist countries, having been driven and will continue to be driven from many nationalist countries, finding every way to retain their remaining positions is a matter of survival to them. Of course, they have not given up their plan to counter-attack and win back positions already lost. But there is only one course that they consider effective for achieving this objective from afar. It is the course of waging an "ideological war" on the hearts and minds of the various strata of the people in those countries which are still under their rule. It is this that has caused the emergence in recent years of the terms "cultural imperialism" and "aggression through information" in the modern political lexicon.

So much for this being "necessary." But why do they also feel that it is "possible"?

If viewed only from the perspective of the struggle on the mass information front, the advantage, in terms of facilities and equipment, is not in the favor of the forces of revolution. According to one Western source, there are more than 30 nations which, although they have won their political independence, do not have a news agency and must rely for news mainly upon the four major Western news agencies. Although improved in recent years, there is still a rather large gap between propaganda needs and capabilities within the mass information apparatus of the socialist countries.

Meanwhile, the mass media of the West are vastly superior. According to the same Western source, the four news agencies of the United States, Great Britain and France--UPI, AP, Reuters and AFP--currently control more than 80 percent of the information transmitted in the world each day. The United States alone controls 75 percent of all radio and television programs, 35 percent of book publishing, 50 percent of the number of hours of movies, 60 percent of the number of records and tapes and 82 percent of the electronic products used in the mass media in the world.

Making full use of the latest achievements of science and technology, the Reagan administration is working hard to complete and further increase the efficiency of the mass information apparatus. The United States, Japan and a few western European countries have successfully produced a type of equipment which enables television sets to directly receive any program broadcast anywhere in the world, if this program is transmitted by satellite.

"Ideological war" experts maintain that the best way to penetrate the hearts and minds of persons is through the "audio" and "visual" pathways. This approach has an immediate and direct effect, can be maintained until the target audience goes to bed and can, unlike the press and books, have an impact upon persons whose level of education is low, even persons who are illiterate. It is this view that has led to uneven rates of development among



the mass media. In the West during the past 25 years, while the press has grown by 77 percent, radio has grown by 417 percent and television by 3,225 percent.

With such an enormous mass information apparatus, the leaders of the "ideological war" nurture the hope that the United States can not only homogenize the world in terms of views and feelings toward events that occur on any parallel, but also homogenize the world from the standpoint of lifestyle and tastes, even from the standpoint of clothing and hair styles.

In the "ideological war" of the Reagan administration as well as on the propaganda front of the imperialist powers who preceded them, there always are and were fundamental contradictions that cannot be resolved. They are the contradictions between their lies, false accusations and duplicity and that which is just and true.

However, we must never underestimate the activities of the anti-communists on this front. Defeating the anti-communist "ideological war" by means of an anti-imperialist ideological war carried out in an intense and effective manner on the basis of a plan, of a set of guidelines--this is a pressing and urgent task in political and ideological work. To perform this task well, we must keep in mind the thoughts expressed by Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Political Report at the 27th Congress of the CPSU: "Against the cleverness and lack of principle of bourgeois propagandists, we must set the high professional standards of our ideological cadres, the ethics and culture of socialist society, open information and the creative boldness of our propaganda sector. We must possess an offensive spirit--both in exposing acts of sabotage in the field of ideology and in supplying factual information on the real achievements of socialism, on the socialist way of life."

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